

VOTES FOR WOMEN

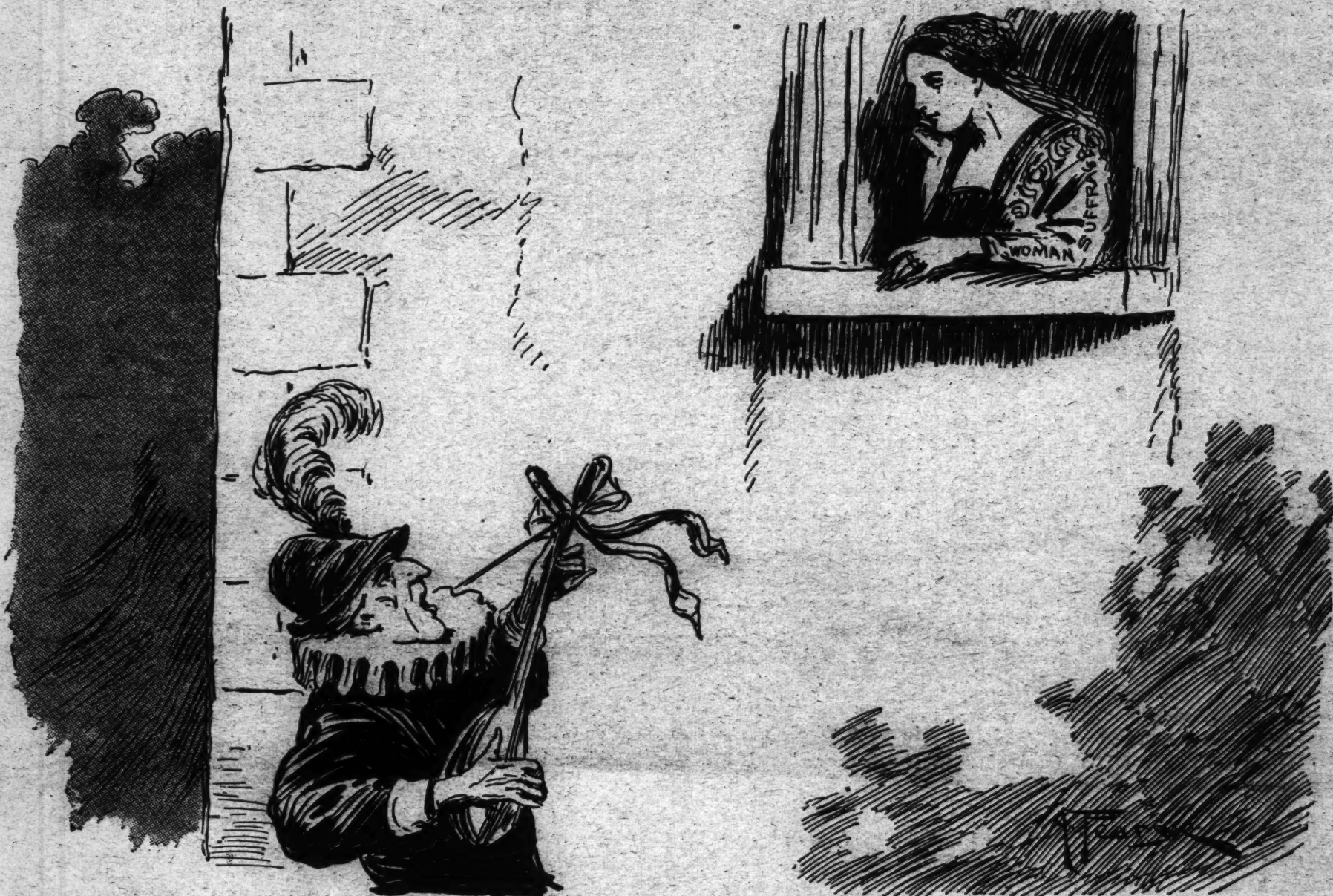
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THE PATIENT LOVER



Troubadour Sir Edward Grey (sings):—

*My love, I have loved you for seven long years,
So banish your fears!
Not mine is the blame if my passion appears,
Now and then, in arrears.*

*If with foreign affairs I sometimes coquette
And your presence forget,
Still, you fire me as matches inflame flannelette
That is dampish or wet.*

*I can't fix the day; for half my relations
Bring false accusations
Against you, my love; we perforce must have patience
And subsist on orations.*

*Meanwhile, don't be tricked by my rival's advances,
His coy Front Bench glances,
I assure you, like me, he is splitting no lances
And taking no chances.*

(In his speech at Berwick, Sir Edward Grey said the Government could not do anything for Woman Suffrage because the Cabinet was divided, but he reminded them that the Opposition was in a similar position.)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The week that has just gone by has been one of exceptional interest to women, for there have been

no less than three pronouncements from men of front rank importance on the question of woman suffrage. On Thursday afternoon Mr. Lloyd George replied to a deputation from the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies; on Friday the *Times* contained a trenchant letter from the Bishop of Winchester calling for a settlement by consent of the question; and finally, on Monday last, Sir Edward Grey made a statement about it to a deputation of his constituents, who waited on him for this special purpose.

Mr. Lloyd George's Speech

Mr. Lloyd George's pronouncement was typical of the man and his methods. Brushing aside all criticism of himself and the Government, he carried the war into the enemy's camp by declaring that militancy, and militancy alone, was responsible for the failure of Parliament to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill. To this he attributed the hostility of Mr. Redmond and the Irish members; to this he attributed "the fact that in a Parliamentary sense the move-

ment has gone back"; to this he attributed the opposition in Wales and elsewhere. After pausing to express appreciation of the pilgrimage organised by the law-abiding suffragists, and to reiterate his devoted adhesion to the cause, Mr. Lloyd George stated that the Government would do nothing more for woman suffrage during the present Parliament. He suggested that suffragists should abandon all thought of an "instalment," which he regarded as worse than useless, and should concentrate upon converting the electors at the next general election to an "advanced measure of woman suffrage which will include not merely picked and selected women, but all the women of Great Britain who have got responsibilities in the country."

A Crafty Attempt

To those who are inclined to take Mr. Lloyd George's lip service at its face value we commend the account of his record during the past few years, which we give in our leading article this week.

Viewed in the light of these facts, his speech will be seen to be a crafty attempt to drive two wedges in transverse directions through the suffrage movement. In the first place, he hopes to divide non-militant from militant suffragists by a denunciation of militancy, and in the second place he hopes to divide Liberal suffragists from Conservative suffragists by a denunciation of what he calls an "instalment." Fortunately, in both these attempts he is likely to fail.

Mrs. Fawcett on Militancy

We are glad to see that Mrs. Fawcett, the leader of the non-militant section, has lost no time in showing that so far as she herself is concerned she will not allow the red-herring trailed by Mr. Lloyd George to divert her from following up the real culprits—the Government. In a speech at the Westminster Palace Hotel on the following day, she declared his assertion to be "absurd and unstatesmanlike," and in a letter published in Tuesday's papers she proves clearly that it was the opposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself and the failure of the Government to redeem its pledges which has brought about the present situation. She proceeds with effective sarcasm:—

This is not the occasion to follow the Chancellor's picturesque account of the causes of the withdrawal of the support of the Irish Nationalists which occasioned the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in March, 1912. It is sufficient here to point out that it was not caused by Mrs. Leigh throwing a hatchet at Mr. Redmond in the following July.

May we be permitted to hope that Mrs. Fawcett will impress this essentially sound point of view upon the editor of the organ of her own society, so that we may in future be spared the perpetual criticism of the methods of other societies which have found so large a place in that journal?

"An Instalment"

With regard to Mr. Lloyd George's opposition to what he calls an "instalment," it is necessary for our readers clearly to understand that neither the "Stanger" Bill nor the Conciliation Bill, both of which he opposed, would have enfranchised "merely picked and selected" women, but were both of them designed to give votes to those women who bear the responsibilities of the country. The "Stanger" Bill, which the woman suffrage societies unanimously demand, provides for the simple removal of the sex barrier, so that a woman should qualify for the vote on precisely the same grounds as a man. It would enfranchise about a million and a quarter women. This solution is both logical and moderate. The Conciliation Bill was a slightly modified form of the "Stanger" Bill, designed to meet the prejudices of the Liberal Party. It would enfranchise about a million women, all householders. Mr. Lloyd George opposes both these moderate measures, which have the support of men of all parties, and insists on "all or nothing." Genuine Suffragists are not so easily led astray.

Sir Edward Grey's Speech

Sir Edward Grey's speech was entirely different in temper and tone from that of Mr. Lloyd George. He began by explaining that in his opinion woman suffrage

is a measure which ought to be very congenial to the Liberal party, but I do not want to emphasise that point too much, because there are a certain number of Conservatives who are in favour of it, and we are very glad to get their support, and I should not like to alienate or discourage the Conservative support.

Put into plain language, that means that Sir Edward Grey, unlike Mr. Lloyd George, favours a moderate measure—an instalment, as Mr. George calls it—because he recognises that Conservative support is necessary to carry woman suffrage into law.

Parliamentary Progress

His second point also flatly contradicts his colleague's views; he holds that considerable progress has been made in the Parliamentary sense, and cites as proof of his assertion the fact that the Government's Manhood Suffrage Bill had to be withdrawn, adding his opinion that woman suffrage now permanently blocks the way against any measure for enfranchising more men unless women are included. He then attempts a defence of Mr. Asquith and his colleagues which we think will leave the impression upon most of our readers that it failed even to convince Sir Edward Grey himself; to this he adds the usual advice about militancy which has become the common-place of all Cabinet oratory on woman suffrage.

Prospects for the Future

It is not, however, till we reach the prospects for

the future that Sir Edward Grey discloses himself as the wholly unsatisfactory advocate of woman suffrage that he really is. Asked whether the Cabinet will bring in a Government measure for next session, he can only repeat the hackneyed formula:—"The Cabinet is divided," "To bring in a Woman Suffrage Bill would be to break up the Cabinet," "It is of no use turning us out and putting the Opposition in, because they are equally divided," "Perhaps something may be done after the next general election." How the general election is going to affect the question, unless the Cabinet is to be entirely reconstructed from top to bottom, he makes no attempt to explain.

Our Reply

To this sort of talk there is only one answer. If it be really true that the British Constitution provides no means of carrying an urgent reform, because, forsooth, both possible Cabinets are divided on it, then the sooner the British Constitution makes way for a more effective engine of government the better. But, of course, it is not true. The real reason is that the British Constitution is being worked at present by politicians and not by statesmen, by men who cling to office and to their own theories, and who shut their eyes to the really important live issues of the day. For such men the country has no use, and the sooner they are sent to the right-about at the elections the better.

The Bishop of Winchester's Letter

A sense of the increasing gravity of the present situation, very different from that exhibited by the politicians to whom we have referred above, finds expression in the weighty letter of the Bishop of Winchester published in the *Times* on Friday last. The experience of the Church Congress has convinced him, he says, that there is an exceedingly wide recognition of the legitimacy of the general aims of the woman's movement, and without going so far as to claim that this recognition amounts to acceptance by all of the political enfranchisement of women, he considers that a favourable consideration of this cardinal proposition is at least assured. He appeals, therefore, in the manner of Lord Loreburn over the Ulster controversy for a settlement by consent.

"A Truce of God"

The grounds on which he makes this appeal are, in fact, closely parallel to those on which the temporal peer based his epoch-making letter. The matter in dispute is a first-rate political question. The franchise is, in the opinion of its advocates, an indispensable and indeed inevitable expression of the woman's movement. There is, moreover, a widespread revolutionary movement, the forcible suppression of which, even if it be possible, can only result in a bitter state of antagonism. On the other hand, the militants can hardly hope themselves to triumph directly by force, and many of them must surely regard their methods only as "anti-social expedients justified merely by temporary and extreme necessity." On these grounds the Bishop calls for a "truce of God"—a cessation of militancy on the part of women, and on the part of the Government "a definite prospect of the introduction of a Suffrage Bill as 'a first-class measure' in some such way that by referendum or otherwise the real opinion of the country may be ascertained upon it."

It Rests with the Government

We give elsewhere (on page 65) our views on this important proposition. While yielding to none in our wish for a settlement of this question by consent, we recognise that for women to abate a fraction of their hostility to the Government unless and until the Government show a genuine desire to effect a settlement, would be mere weakness. And in view of the accumulation of unredeemed pledges, it will be necessary for the Government to bring forward very definite and tangible proofs of their sincerity before we should be even inclined to consider the question. It is therefore in the hope that the Bishop's powerful letter may awaken the public conscience to the gravity of the situation and to the necessity of urging a solution upon the Government that we give it a hearty welcome.

Votes or Ameliorations?

In certain quarters, notably the *Times* and the *Globe*, the Bishop's letter has been made the occasion for a new form of opposition to woman suffrage.

"The woman's movement is, in the main, justified," say these critics, "there are many hardships in woman's present position; let us remedy these. But that particular part of the woman's movement which is concerned with the franchise is wrong." We warn our readers against this new move on the part of the enemy. They do not need themselves to be reminded that ameliorations without the fundamental basis of political equality exist only upon tolerance, but it is important that they should not forget, when calling the attention of others to specific abuses, to point out how essential is the franchise if permanent relief is to be obtained.

Lynch Law

An astounding scandal is reported from Bristol. On Friday and again on Saturday the students raided the premises of the local W.S.P.U., alleging as a justification for their conduct the damage done to the Bristol sports pavilion, which had been attributed to Suffragists. The police were present outside the W.S.P.U. shop when the students were behaving in this manner, but effected no arrests whatever. This is the very negation of justice, and the action of the authorities demands the strongest possible condemnation. We are glad to see that both the *Daily News* and the *Manchester Guardian* have delivered strong protests, but what is the Home Office going to do?

The Effect of Forcible Feeding

After a fortnight of forcible feeding, Mary Richardson has been released from prison in so dangerous a condition that an operation for appendicitis is almost certain to be necessary, although the patient is at present too ill to undergo it. This fact proves at once the futility and barbarity of this process. The boast that forcible feeding enabled the law to be carried out has been shown to be without foundation; at the same time, the grave injuries inflicted by it upon the persons of its victims have again been demonstrated. That this woman should now be released under the Cat and Mouse Act, so that it is possible for Mr. McKenna to arrest her again and treat her once more in the same manner, is an infamy which no words are able properly to express. Meanwhile, Miss Rachel Peace is being fed by force three times a day in Holloway Gaol. We hope that our readers will adopt every means in their power to bring home to Mr. McKenna and to the members of the medical profession their detestation of what is going on in our prisons.

By-Elections

We draw the attention of our readers to the article on the adjoining page addressed to the electors, calling upon them to mark their disapproval of the Government's attitude to Woman Suffrage by voting against their candidates at the elections. It is an important sign of the times that the Independent Labour Federation in West Lothian is issuing a manifesto to its members urging them to vote Unionist on several grounds, including the treatment of women by the Liberal Government, and we hope that this advice will be followed by many of the electors in that constituency. We believe that this is the first occasion on which a prominent Labour body has taken this vigorous action in support of woman suffrage, and we trust that other Labour organisations in other places will copy its example. It is a significant fact that in the *Times* this resolution is mentioned, but the reference in it to woman suffrage has been carefully omitted.

THE CITY OF BEAUTIFUL LIGHT

Far through the gates of the sunset,
In the star-foamed seas of night,
Veiled in the glory of dawning
Lies the city of Beautiful Light

And o'er her twilight oceans
In that far, enchanted sea,
I saw a tall ship sailing
To her long-deserted quay.

Her sails were brodered purple,
And her masts were wrought in gold,
And her decks were beaten silver
From the treasure in her hold.

For the port she made at morning
Was the port, Equality,
And the treasure that she carried
Were the pearls of Liberty.

B. V. HAROLD.

ON POLLING DAY

An Open Letter to the Men of Reading, Keighley, West Lothian, Wick and South Lanarkshire

ELECTORS!

Have you made up your minds finally as to how you intend to vote at this election? If not, there are certain facts we ask you to think over before you decide.

First of all we ask you to remember that in giving your vote you are not merely choosing between the men who come before you, but between the policies and the parties for which they stand.

The Position at Reading

At Reading Mr. Gooch has said frankly that he stands on the whole policy of the Government. In his election address he says:—

For eight years (during the first four of which I sat in the House of Commons as Member for Bath) the Government has guided the destinies of the country with wisdom, courage and success. . . . As a staunch supporter of Mr. Asquith's Government and of the soundly progressive principles for which it stands, I venture to ask for your support at the poll.

If he wins the election he will go back to the House of Commons to support the Government. Whenever there is any criticism of the acts of the Liberal Government, he will speak or vote in their defence. If you men of Reading vote for him, therefore, you are expressing your approval of all that the Government has done and are doing. Both his opponents tell you that they are critics of the Government, and if you vote for one of them you will be expressing your disapproval of what the Government has done.

In the Other Constituencies

In Keighly, Sir S. O. Buckmaster is himself a member of the Government; so he, too, stands by what they have done and are doing, not merely in one particular part of their policy, but in everything. If you men of Keighley vote for Sir S. O. Buckmaster, you will be giving a vote for the Government. In West Lothian, Bailie Pratt is the official candidate of the Liberal Party, and the same is true of Mr. Munro in Wick; and so the return of these men to the House of Commons will be considered a victory for the Government, and a vote of confidence by the electors on their policy.

Have the Government Deserved your Confidence?

Now the question for you, electors, to consider, is whether you are prepared to give, on polling day, this vote of confidence in the Government. Have they done so well that you feel justified in voting for their nominee, and expressing your approval of their actions?

The particular matter of policy we ask you to think about is the way in which they have handled the question of votes for women.

This is, in reality, a very simple one. At the present day a large number of persons who are householders and breadwinners, and who fulfil all the duties of citizenship, are not allowed to have a vote, solely because they are women. That is obviously unfair, and in addition to being unfair, is the cause of much serious evil. For Parliament has to deal with many questions closely affecting our daily life, and because it has not got behind it the driving power of the women's votes it does not deal with them effectively. Among these questions we may name the purity of food, the care of child life, the protection of girls from assault, and the provision of healthy houses.

In the countries where women have the vote, notably in Australia, New Zealand, and the Western States of America, the women have already tackled these questions, and many of the evils which exist in Great Britain have been swept away. But in this country women have no power to influence politics, and these questions remain unsolved.

We Accuse the Government!

The accusation which we make against the Government is threefold. Firstly, they have sinned against the fundamental principles of democracy and Liberalism by declining themselves to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill. Secondly, when a private member introduced a Bill and the House of Commons carried the second reading by an enormous majority, they prevented its progress into law. Thirdly, by their trifling and double dealing, they have stirred up a revolution among women.

Firstly, They have Sinned against Democracy

It is of the essence of democratic Government that no section of the community shall be governed without its consent. Yet the Liberal Government has, for many years, refused to listen to the claim of women

to be included in the electorate. Though every organised body of women throughout the country has passed a resolution in favour of votes for women, though processions and demonstrations of women on a larger scale than for any other reform have taken place, though thousands of women have faced prison itself rather than consent to exclusion from the franchise, the Liberal Government has refused to bring in a measure of woman suffrage. This refusal of democracy must be marked by the electors with their grave displeasure.

Secondly, They have Thwarted the People

The Government have not merely refused to act themselves, they have gone further and prevented the House of Commons from carrying a measure of enfranchisement introduced by a private member. In 1911 the Conciliation Bill, as it was called, secured a majority of 167 on its second reading; there were great demonstrations in its favour all over the country, nearly all the great County Councils and Municipal Councils petitioned Parliament to pass it. There was practically no opposition in the country among men or women, and not a single local Council petitioned against it. Yet the Government definitely refused to allow time for its later stages, and so the Bill was lost. We ask the electors particularly to notice (in view of what Mr. Lloyd George said a few days ago) that this could not be owing to militancy, for this happened at a time when there was no militancy, for a truce had definitely been declared by the militant suffragists.

Thirdly, They have Created a Revolution

Women are naturally law-abiding; the records of crime show that there are many more men criminals than women criminals. Yet the Government have actually brought about a revolution among women by the way they have behaved about this question. This would never have happened if the Government had been honest. But the Government has not been honest; they gave pledges which they broke, and then other pledges which they failed to keep also. In the leading article in this paper this week will be found an account of Mr. Lloyd George's record in this matter of broken pledges.

But they have done more than break pledges, they have adopted brutal methods of coercion to try to compel women to submit. It is impossible to speak of some of these things without a sense of national shame, for all over the world the behaviour of the Government to women is spoken about and condemned. Only a few days ago the Bishop of Winchester wrote to the paper to say how serious this state of affairs was.

It rests with you men electors to bring this to an end by using your votes against the Government's nominees at the election.

We ask you to vote against Mr. Gooch at Reading, against Sir S. O. Buckmaster at Keighley, against Bailie Pratt in West Lothian, against Mr. Munro in Wick, and against the Liberal candidate in Lanark. In West Lothian, our advice is strengthened by that of the Independent Labour Party on the same ground. If you do this you will be telling the Government that you disapprove of what they are doing, you will be calling on them to change their policy, and to give votes to women.

Therefore, we call upon you to vote against the Liberal candidate.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE FOR THE VOTE

As far back as 1816 women took part with men in agitating for the vote. And in the great demonstration of Peterloo in 1821 women suffered with men when the soldiers charged the crowd. Nevertheless, the Reform Act of 1832, which so materially improved the position of the men, did nothing for the women who had fought side by side with them. From that date till this women have agitated in various constitutional ways to obtain the vote. Some of these have been:—

By Petitions

Numberless petitions and memorials have been signed and have been presented to the House of Commons and to the Government. Between 1866 and 1879 there were

Over 9,000 Petitions with Three Million Signatures in support of giving votes to women. In 1896 alone

an appeal to members of Parliament was signed by

Over a Quarter of a Million Women

And since that date petitions and memorials have been pouring in from all parts of the country.

By Applying to be Registered as Voters

In 1867 the wording of the Household Franchise Act was supposed by many people to allow of the enrolment of women as voters. A canvass of the women in Manchester was made, and out of 4,215 women who might be qualified 3,924, or

92 per cent. Sent in Claims

The Court of Appeal, however, decided against the women (*Chorlton v. Lings*), and compelled them to make their demand again to Parliament.

One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Meetings

Countless public meetings have been held all over the country, which have carried resolutions in favour of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Of these, the great Hyde Park demonstration on Sunday, June 21, 1908, when half a million people came together, was admittedly

The Largest Political Demonstration in the History of the World

Other great outdoor demonstrations have been held in all the largest towns. Altogether at least 150,000 meetings have been held, including twenty in the great Albert Hall, London; and others in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the Sun Hall, Liverpool, the Colston Hall, Bristol, the Town Hall, Birmingham, the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, and in many other places.

Over 1,000 Women have Faced Prison

In addition to all this constitutional work for the vote, over a thousand women have suffered imprisonment for the part they have taken in the agitation, and a hundred and fifty have endured the torture of forcible feeding in prison rather than submit to conditions which they considered dishonouring.

No other agitation of modern times has called forth such vigorous and widespread sacrifice.

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SIR EDWARD GREY ON THE SUFFRAGE SITUATION

His Reply to a Deputation of Berwick Electors

At Berwick-on-Tweed last Monday Sir Edward Grey received a men's deputation from the Berwick branch of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage. Sir Francis Blake, in introducing the deputation, pointed out its representative character, comprising as it did traders, journalists, legal practitioners. Mr. R. K. Gaul, honorary secretary of the local branch of the N.M.F.W.S., stated that this deputation of electors in that constituency who had in the past supported their member, Sir Edward Grey, had resolved that unless the Liberal Government adopted woman suffrage as a Government measure they would withdraw that support. They wanted something done. Would Sir Edward tell them what he was prepared to do in putting his principles and honour before party, as they were doing?

SIR EDWARD GREY'S REPLY

Of course I have nothing whatever to say in deprecation of the earnestness with which you have put your arguments in favour of women's suffrage, or the emphasis that you have laid upon the importance that you attach to the question. I have always been in favour of women's suffrage, as you know, and it is not necessary for me to argue about the merits of it this afternoon, because I have worked for it in the House of Commons and I have worked for it on public platforms, and we are all agreed with regard to the merits. One of you asked me whether I didn't think it an essentially Liberal measure. I do think it is a measure which ought to be very congenial to the Liberal party, but I do not want to emphasise that point too much, because there are a certain number of Conservatives who are in favour of it, and we are very glad to get their support, and I should not like to alienate or discourage the Conservative support.

Past History Unsatisfactory

I quite admit that the history of the question has not been at all satisfactory. The House of Commons has frequently given large majorities in favour of it, and up to recently the question has made no progress. I quite admit that was very exasperating, but I think you underrate the progress which has been made. If you go back to the election of 1906, or even to the last election, there was no demand in the country for women's suffrage. It was said that people who are in favour of women's suffrage should not join a Government unless that Government was pledged to women's suffrage. When I entered the present Government, and for the years since practically till to-day, I never met with any protest in the constituency against remaining in a Government which was not pledged to women's suffrage, or becoming a member of it. One of you spoke of the Prime Minister's pledge. The Prime Minister's pledge was a distinct advance on anything which had been done before. It was in itself an indication that the movement had made progress. It was a pledge to give an opportunity to the House of Commons, if they passed a Women's Suffrage Bill introduced by a private member on the second reading, that the House of Commons should have time to carry that Bill through its further stages. That was the first pledge. The House of Commons did have an opportunity as regards a private member's Bill after that pledge was given. It was this year, was it not? A Bill was brought forward by a private member. It was supported by those of us who are in favour of women's suffrage, and if it had passed its second reading further time must have been given for the passage of the Bill. But it did not pass its second reading.

Militancy

I have not the least doubt that the action of militancy had had a most unfavourable influence on opinion in the House of Commons. One could feel when one was speaking in favour of the question that the feeling against it had hardened in a way that was not present before. And I have no doubt that militancy not only was wrong in itself, but also that it came at a most exceedingly inopportune moment, and it did have a very harmful and prejudicial influence on the progress of the Women's Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons. That was the first part of the pledge.

The second part of the pledge was that the Government were going to introduce

a Bill for franchise reform generally, and that on the Bill those who are in favour of women's suffrage were to have an opportunity of putting a women's suffrage amendment into the Bill, and then having it carried forward, supposing they maintained its position in the Bill, and passed into law with the Bill as a Government Bill. That in all good faith we tried to do, and it was defeated, as you know, most unexpectedly by our finding out at the last moment that it would not be in order for the course to be taken. I think you must not ignore what happened. The Government Bill was dropped. I think it is calculated that the Government Bill would have enfranchised a large number of men who did not get on the register at the present moment, and those opposed to women's suffrage say that those who were in favour of women's suffrage, by insisting on the Bill being dropped, prevented a large number more men getting on the register. That, at any rate, is some evidence of progress and vitality on the part of the question. It has blocked the way of any further reform, I believe permanently, in enfranchising men till women's suffrage goes along with it. That has given the whole question an actuality which it had not before.

A Government Bill?

Now you come to put a very definite question, on which I am sorry to say I cannot give you a satisfactory answer. You ask that the Government should bring in a Women's Suffrage Bill, that it should be put in the King's Speech, and brought in next session. The Government obviously cannot do that, because I think about half of the Cabinet is genuinely opposed to Women's Suffrage and votes against it on conviction. Therefore, what you are really asking when you say that the Government should bring in a Women's Suffrage Bill next year is that the Government should immediately break up—I do not say whether it would be reasonable or unreasonable, but there would be some force in the demand if there was any chance that when the Government broke up another Government would be found which was in favour of Women's Suffrage. But there is no such chance of that at the present moment. Supposing the Government did break up and the Conservative party came in, they are not more favourably disposed as a Government towards Women's Suffrage. I doubt whether they are as favourable, though some of their party leaders are definitely in favour of Women's Suffrage.

And really I think the only straightforward thing to say to advocates of Women's Suffrage now is that there cannot be progress made in what remains of the present Parliament with regard to Women's Suffrage. Under the Parliament Act, even if it were made a Government measure, it could not be passed in the lifetime of the present Parliament. No sufficient lifetime of the present Parliament remains. Everything depends on the next election, and how the candidates for the House of Commons who are elected members pledge themselves with regard to it at the next election. One of you spoke of there being a popular demand for Women's Suffrage. The real test of that is in the House of Commons. If in the next House of Commons there is a majority which is really in earnest about Women's Suffrage, I regard it as absolutely certain that it will be carried into law, but till you have that in the House of Commons it seems to me impossible that any progress should be made.

The Next Election the Objective

You told me about the work of your Association, that it is constitutional and non-party work. Of course, not only do I not deprecate, I welcome it. I wish it every success, and I do it the more because I think the next election is the critical time, and that ought to be the objective to which people should work.

One or two of you said quite frankly, but also very courteously, that you would be compelled to withdraw your support from the Liberal party or the Liberal candidate in this division unless he stated definitely that he would not belong to a Government which did not make Women's Suffrage part of its programme. When the time for the next election comes, if I am a candidate again, you can ask me questions upon the point, and I will give you answers, and then you can vote

accordingly. At the present moment all I should say is that I have been for eight years doing work at the Foreign Office, and I intend to go on doing that work till the next election.

His Own Position

When the next election comes you will be perfectly free, of course, to ask me definitely what my intentions are about Women's Suffrage in the next Parliament, and, of course, perfectly free to regulate your own votes. Whether the election comes next year, or at the normal time in 1915, I do not in the least resent your saying that you mean to make your votes dependent on the question of Women's Suffrage. At the next election anybody is entitled to say that any single question on which they feel very strongly themselves is of such importance that they will subordinate all other issues to it, and to take their own course accordingly, and nobody has any right to resent their doing so, and I certainly should not resent it. Only I would say this, that it is desirable before you withdraw votes from one party to be sure that you can place those votes with some other party which will be at least equally or if possible more favourable to the cause by which you set so much store. Personally, I shall continue to give my support, as I have done before to the question of Women's Suffrage.

I do long to see the question make progress, and I trust people will make the next election their objective, and that they will realise that militancy has done real harm, and that action people like you propose to take is the real way to impress the country and the candidates.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Sir Edward Grey then answered questions put to him.

In reply to one referring to the Prime Minister's pledge to give facilities for a Bill, he said he could not answer that definitely without knowing the view of the Prime Minister of his own pledge. He held that if the House of Commons passed a Women's Suffrage Bill on the second reading it ought to have time given by the Government to go on with it as a private member's Bill.

A second question referred to the opinion of the House of Commons as reflected by its vote. What about the three previous majorities?

Sir Edward Grey: I think the point is the opinion of the country has not yet succeeded in finding expression in the House of Commons.

Sir Edward Grey was also asked regarding the statement that the majorities were got when the Bill was not likely to be taken up, and that members voted against it against their principles.

Sir Edward replied that, as a matter of fact, the votes were given at a time when it was known that the thing could not make any further progress. His own feeling was that the opinion and votes of a great number of members had been affected by militancy, and that it made a real difference. He did not put it as a charge of bad faith; he put it as a matter of change of opinion. He thought that in the large majorities in favour of women's suffrage there were probably a good number of people included who did not feel very strongly, and who were comparatively indifferent. But things like militancy affected these people. Their feelings and opinions were easily turned, and he thought a good many of these people were affected by militancy.

In answer to a final question Sir Edward said the Prime Minister did everything he could to prevent any feeling that a certain vote might put out the Government getting about. Mr. Asquith was opposed to women's suffrage, but he was exceedingly fair in the matter.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S "VAGUE GENERALITIES"

Non-Militant Suffragist's Criticism
Councillor Margaret Ashton wrote as follows in the *Manchester Guardian* last Wednesday:—

As reported, Sir Edward Grey's reply to the deputation of the Northern Men's Federation is confused and very unsatisfactory, and can only be explained by his entire absorption in foreign affairs throughout the last session of Parliament. The Prime Minister's pledge (a verbal one truly, but surely binding in honour) was given in November, 1911—that the Reform Bill should be so drawn as to admit of an amendment to include women, and that if such an amendment were carried the Government would adopt it and see it through as an integral part of their Bill. This was not carried out, not because of open defeat in the House of Commons, but because of faulty drafting on the part of the Government who had made the pledge.

In exchange for that verbal pledge another was given, after the failure of the first had entirely altered and destroyed the women's chance, that time and facilities only—not Government backing—would be given to a private member's Bill. The suffrage societies and all declined to

accept any such offer, but nevertheless, against our judgment, a private member's Bill was introduced with every disadvantage of time and circumstance, and was for the first time in many years defeated by the majority of forty-nine—sufficient but significant. The constitution of that vote was even more significant. Mr. Asquith and the anti-suffrage members of the Government were supported in crushing a democratic demand by a Conservative and Irish vote, while a majority of the Liberals in the House of Commons, 146, and thirty-four Labour M.P.'s, together with forty-one others, voted in its favour.

Lukewarmness of Friends

It was not, as appears to be suggested by Sir Edward Grey, the women suffragists whose action has delayed the enfranchisement of more men; it was the blundering of the Government, who had failed to fulfil their promises both to men and women. It is the lukewarmness of our friends in the Government, who do not secure a compromise in the Cabinet on this question—no more vexed and difficult than others which have been successfully introduced, such as the Home Rule and National Insurance Bills—that causes the growing dissatisfaction of Liberals with the Government as at present constituted. Sir Edward Grey's vague generalities cannot in any way remove this feeling.

THE WEST LOTHIAN ELECTION

Labour Electors to Vote Unionist

A new factor, says the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, "has come into play in the West Lothian election, and at the moment it is not apparent what the exact effect on the contest may be. At a meeting of delegates of the West Lothian Independent Labour Federation the by-election was discussed. Reports from the various branches were given in, and at the close a manifesto was issued advising the workers to throw their influence against the Liberal Government in the present election. The reasons given in the manifesto for this action were the attitude of the Government on industrial questions, their employment of military during strikes, their failure to carry women's suffrage, and their treatment of the suffragettes in gaol. The Liberal Executive and organisers are not too much alarmed."

This definite action on the part of an organised body of electors is very significant, induced as it is by their disapproval of the Government's conduct of certain matters, including woman suffrage and the treatment of suffragist prisoners. We hope it is the forerunner of many such practical protests on the part of electors.

GENERAL ELECTION POLICY

An Irish View

The *Irish Citizen*, in its leading article last week, supports the suggestion put forward in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in our issue of October 3 that prior to the determination of the Suffragists' policy for the next General Election, the chiefs of both the great political parties should be formally approached. The *Irish Citizen* says:

"We think the arguments set out in favour of this course are irrefutable. The next General Election will be an exceedingly critical one for both parties; and it is very important that, as far as possible, neither of them should be permitted to ignore Votes for Women in the course of the electoral fight. . . . It must be remembered that the conditions of a General Election are very different from those of a by-election. At a by-election, the proper thing to do, clearly, is to oppose the nominee of the Government. Even if that policy results in the return of an individual anti-suffragist, that does not matter; he will be individually powerless, while a hostile Cabinet will be weakened. But at a General Election, to attack the Government blindly may mean the return of another anti-suffragist Government, equally hostile and entirely unpledged. That hardly seems a good policy, if it is possible to avoid it."

The Irish Parallel in 1885

Going on to deal with the policy of opposing the Liberal Government at the General Election without reference to what the Unionist Party would do if returned to power, the *Irish Citizen* maintains that this is what Parnell did in 1885, and that from the effect of this "Vote solid for the Tories" the Home Rule movement has taken nearly thirty years to recover.

"The moral is," concludes the leading article, "that it is unsafe in politics to allow oneself to be guided by the spirit of revenge. The Liberals have been taught a lesson; and if Mr. Asquith retires, as he probably will, a Liberal Ministry under Sir Edward Grey might be better for Votes for Women than a Conservative Ministry containing Lord Curzon, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. F. E. Smith. The Conservative Front Bench has been greatly weakened, from the suffragist point of view, by the death of Mr. Wyndham and of Mr. Lyttleton. We should regard it, therefore, as a highly risky thing to assist a Conservative Ministry to office without some endeavour to pledge them in advance."

"A TRUCE OF GOD"

Bishop of Winchester's Appeal for a Settlement of the Women's Question—Leading Comments

Last Friday, the following letter from Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Winchester, appeared in the *Times*:—

Sir,—No one ought to be afraid of a venture if he sees any chance of serving the common weal. It is in this spirit that I desire, by your leave, to make an appeal to men and women of good will in the present position of the Women's question. It can, I think, satisfy and please no one. To say this is to say little. It must be to all, or nearly all, humiliating and anxious. It is demonstrably charged with dangers and risks of many kinds to our national welfare. Is it as hopeless and impossible as may be thought to clear the slate and to begin a new chapter in the history? I have derived some faint encouragement from the experience of the Church Congress at Southampton, over which I presided during the week before last. We discussed there, in Christian light, the "Ideals of Womanhood," or in other words, what women should be and do in the life of the community. The matter was considered with admirable harmony and temper, and, with the exception of one momentary disturbance two days later (since explained), quite without friction. This, though a small thing, was all to the good; and personally I owe and offer cordial acknowledgments for it all round.

An Important Deduction

But two things appear to be of public moment and material to my present purpose. The Congress evidently recognised the reality, meaning, and importance of the Women's movement in our time; and it did this with a large measure of cordiality. I draw from this an inference which I hope is legitimate. Let it be remembered that a Church Congress represents some of the more "conservative" and less emotional forces in the religious world of to-day. I should suppose, with respect, that any such feelings as I have attributed to the Congress would have been found more strongly still, if, say, half of those present had been Nonconformists. Now it would be grossly unfair and entirely unwarranted to draw from this general attitude of the Congress towards women's aims an inference about the verdict of the Congress, or of the larger religious world, upon the special and burning question of the franchise. But what is, I think, plain and hardly controvertible is this: that there is in these parts of society a condition of opinion favourable to a frank and sympathetic treatment of practical proposals for the betterment of women's position. This is no peculiarity of the religious world: on the contrary the position of eminent public men on both sides of politics, and the general aspect of the opinions of Labour, are instances to show that it would be equally true on the larger field.

The matter then is now before the nation, a first-rate political question for solution, outside controversies of political party.

It is upon this that I ground my appeal. I ask: Ought not this to be enough to set us free from our present unhappy and ignominious position, and to open the better chapter of which I have spoken? For in the view of advocates of the franchise, this is all that they need desire. The franchise is, in their view, the first and indispensable expression or result, itself the way to many others, of the Women's movement. If the movement be fairly recognised, the franchise is, they believe, inevitable.

Militancy

This would probably be accepted at once by the "non-militant" section. But I would press it equally on those who have adopted militant methods. They have not done so, we may assume, lightly or without purpose; nor, as I hope, without much repugnance, and a keen perception of some at least of the evils which attend the use of such methods in the life of a nation. What was their purpose? Plainly, to compel attention, to force the matter forward, to break through what they deemed barriers of stubborn indifference or prejudice.

I have never disguised my opinion that they did, and do, gravely wrong; though it was wrong which had in it a large element of chivalry, and beneath it deep roots of conviction and purpose. But I now respectfully invite them to consider whether upon their own principles they are prepared to undertake the other, far graver and surely far less justifiable, responsibility, of an attempt not only to bring the matter

to the bar of national opinion, but also to drive it through by force, not by the conversion of opinion, but by defiance of it.

To Militant Suffragists

I would ask them, reasoning fairly to the best of my ability on their principles, to consider (1) that they believe the arguments for the suffrage to be overwhelming; in other words, that, given its chance, it must win; (2) that they have made their contribution (needed or unneeded, justifiable or unjustifiable, is not here the question) which they believe to have been decisive in compelling attention to the matter; (3) that they reckon the suffrage a change of momentous and far-reaching consequence; in other words, one upon which, on any showing, a nation may claim to decide without precipitancy and with fullest deliberation; and (4) they will surely allow me to add that, if conceivably driven through otherwise than by the conquest of opinion, its benefits must be largely impaired, and dangers of reaction and of other kinds enormously increased. They cannot, I submit, ignore the public repugnance felt for their methods, nor themselves, I would fain believe, regard these as other than anti-social expedients justified merely by temporary and extreme necessity.

To them, then, I address an appeal for a "Truce of God" for the blessing and benefit alike of men and women, and for the relief of an inflamed and most unwholesome condition of our common life.

To Their Opponents

But what have I to say to their opponents and to the community at large? What contributions have others to make to that which is my aim? It is not, I think, hard to see. Plainly the promise of a fair and full consideration; that goes without saying. But, more particularly

(1) A recognition, such as the Church Congress gave, of the reality, depth, and strength of a movement among women asking for a "fuller life, greater honour, and worthier treatment by men."

(2) A strenuous consideration of the question whether or not, for the purpose of that movement, the franchise is indispensable or material.

(3) A readiness, upon the abandonment or suspension of militancy, to turn our backs upon its faults, and to acknowledge the self-devotion, courage, and endurance of many of its women, things of which, if only rightly directed and controlled, we can never have enough.

Speaking for the Men

(4) But I go further. We shall not (I speak for the men) come to a just judgment, nor, therefore, win back the attention and respect of those whom this matter kindles to passion, unless we recognise the bitter crop of a long and cruel sowing. What is put in as poison comes out as fever. The fever in the blood of our body politic, and particularly in those who should be its gentler part, comes from all the long and bad record, not merely of what men have done in passion or weakness, but of what they have defended as natural or condoned as inevitable. But it is not all fever. There is fervour, too, not morbid, but righteous and generous; a desire to lift and to serve even through self-sacrifice those whom the "social evils," moral and economical, oppress. Without recognition of this, our best intended denunciations of folly and crime, however fully justified, will be ineffective.

If the note which I have tried to strike wakes any echoes, it will be for others to develop the matter. An amnesty would not, I imagine, be too difficult to arrange. But I suppose that one thing indispensable would be a definite prospect of the introduction of a Suffrage Bill, as "a first-class measure," in some such way that, by referendum or otherwise, the real opinion of the country may be ascertained upon it.

But my part is done. What I have asked for seems almost beyond hope. But spiritual forces are strong; and with God's blessing even "this thing" may "be."

LETTER FROM THE MEN'S LEAGUE "The Only Permanent Solution"

The following letter has been sent to the Bishop of Winchester by the Men's League for Women Suffrage:—

My Lord Bishop,—The Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage desires to convey to your Lordship their grateful appreciation of your general attitude towards the women's movement as expressed during your presidency of the Church Congress, and more particularly in your letter which appears in the *Times* of

to-day. Our committee would most gladly co-operate in discussing this urgent question in the spirit advocated and exemplified by your lordship. They must none the less affirm their conviction that the only permanent solution of this increasingly difficult and dangerous problem will be found in the extension to duly qualified women of full citizenship, including the Parliamentary franchise. Many other valuable concessions might, no doubt, be made and the position of women generally might be materially improved; but this, so far from diminishing the women's demand for the vote, would only emphasise the injustice and unreasonableness of withholding it from them. We have the honour to be, my Lord Bishop, your obedient servants,

H. FOX BOURNE.
J. MALCOLM MITCHELL.

MRS. FAWCETT'S COMMENT

In a letter to the Press last Tuesday, Mrs. Fawcett discusses the Bishop's plea that a preliminary to a truce would be a definite promise of a Suffrage Bill as a "first-class measure." She points out that "The recent field of the Suffrage controversy is strewn thick with unredemmed pledges given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government to the non-militant Suffrage Societies. If this undoubted fact is properly faced, it should induce the Prime Minister and his colleagues as a body to recognise, in this unpaid debt, an obligation which should induce them on their part to go far in the direction the Bishop advises. The Government have given promises, but have not fulfilled them; but there are ways in which those unfulfilled pledges can still be redeemed."

"If, on the other hand, these unredemmed pledges are repudiated or ignored, the militant societies might legitimately say, 'Why place any confidence in Government promises when those given in November, 1911, to the Suffrage Societies and Women's Liberal Federation still remain unfulfilled?'"

"Another fact must be faced. There are two ways of producing a 'first-class measure.' First by an agreed Bill, arrived at on non-party lines, by mutual concessions from all parties conciliating

opposition and winning support from suffragists belonging to all parties in the House. This plan was tried by means of the Conciliation Bill, which obtained enormous majorities in support of its second reading in 1910 and 1911, but was ultimately wrecked, mainly through the opposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who openly boasted that he had 'torpedoed' it."

In conclusion, Mrs. Fawcett says the N.U.W.S.S. would support any Government Bill but "will not be drawn into the pursuit of such a will o' the wisp as the party Bill without the driving power of a party behind it."

THE CHURCH LEAGUE'S COMMENT

We have been kindly permitted to see the advance proofs of an article upon the Bishop's letter which will appear in the November number of the organ of the Church League for Women's Suffrage. The article points out "how central to the whole movement is the demand for enfranchisement. . . . In our view fair recognition of the Women's Movement is a phrase without meaning unless it includes fair recognition of women's claim to enfranchisement."

With regard to militancy, the Church League expresses the opinion that militancy is concerned at the moment "with creating a condition of things which shall compel the Government to give effect to those opinions which in the judgment of those responsible for militancy the electors have already sufficiently expressed. The situation is even graver than the Bishop assumes."

Referring to the suggested remedy, the article asks: "Who is to introduce this 'first-class measure'? The Government? They have only to introduce such a measure with evident sincerity to put an end to all strife. A private member? The game of 'facilities' has already, we fear, been played once too often."

The article concludes by saying: "The present condition of our country is deplorable; Christian civilization is a by-word if it can yield nothing better than what is taking place around us: and there is a God, more ready to hear than we to pray. Who orders all things both in heaven and earth."

RIOTING UNDER POLICE PROTECTION

"The Bristol Pogrom"

On the supposition that the militant Suffragists were instrumental in burning down the Bristol University Cricket Pavilion on Thursday in last week—Suffragist literature having been found in the vicinity—some hundred or so undergraduates attacked the shop and office of the Women's Social and Political Union in Queen's Road, Bristol, on Friday last. They sent a shower of bricks through the shop window, rushed inside and completely wrecked the place. The counter, furniture, fittings, books, papers, china, and other contents of the shop, including a typewriting machine and a bicycle, were then piled up in the roadway—which is, by the way, the main thoroughfare between Bristol and Clifton—and a bonfire was lighted. A large crowd collected, but no attempt was made to restore order. Some accounts say only one policeman was present, others that police arrived on the scene and put out the fire with the aid of the fire brigade, and dispersed the crowd.

No arrests were made.

Encouraged to Repeat Outrage

On Saturday, apparently encouraged by police amiability, the students made a second attack on the W.S.P.U. premises when two women were inside. The students broke through the boarded-up doorway and threw out some boards and books, evidently with the intention of starting another bonfire; while the women who were in possession were assailed with volleys of eggs and other missiles. A large body of police appeared on the scene, and the rioters decamped.

Again, no arrests were made.

FROM THE PRESS

The *Daily Telegraph*, in its account of the riot, says that it took place "much to the amusement of the public." Two other morning papers, however, published strong comments in their leading articles last Monday.

From the "Manchester Guardian"

Under the heading of "The Bristol Pogrom," the *Manchester Guardian* says: "The Bristol police must either be the least efficient or the worst principled force

in the kingdom. They are allowing a students' pogrom against the suffragists to go on under their very noses. On Thursday some suffragists burnt down the University Sports Pavilion, and on Friday the students in revenge ransacked a shop kept by suffragists. They were not, presumably, the same suffragists who burnt the pavilion, or they would have been under arrest; but even if there was real ground of suspicion it would make no difference. Lynch-law is not yet one of the recognised institutions of the country. But the sequel is even worse. On the following day the suffragists reoccupied their shop, and 300 students came down in force and repeated the misconduct of the previous day. They tore down the boarding, drove off the women occupying the premises, and broke everything in them that was breakable. The police, we are told, were powerless to stop the disturbance, and no arrests were made. This is lynch-law under police supervision—a refinement of lawlessness hitherto unknown outside Russia. We make every allowance for the unbalancing effect of suffragist crime on some minds, but the whole story remains a disgrace to the Bristol police. The worst criminal in the land has a right to police protection from the mob, and the suffragists who kept this shop were not only not criminals, but were doing nothing that they had not a perfect right to do.

From the "Daily News"

Have the Bristol police forgotten their duty? Last week some students of the local University wrecked a suffragists' shop in that town and were not interfered with by the police. On Saturday two women were noticed inside the shop trying to recover the papers. Students rushed up, drove the women off with eggs, tore down the boardings, destroyed books, shelves, a gas-stove, a typewriter, the fittings and fixtures, even the window frames. Again the police did not interfere, and no arrests were made. We need not reflect upon the ennobling influence of higher education upon the academic youth of Bristol which this episode reveals. It is precisely to hold in check such outbursts of ruffianly hooliganism that a police force is maintained by decent citizens. Do the Bristol police hold that to be a woman suffragist is to be an outlaw, whose person and property are at the mercy of any scoundrel? Their conduct would suggest that such is their conviction. If that be so, the sooner the local authorities bring the police to a proper appreciation of their duty the better for the good repute of Bristol.

DRAMA AND BOOKS

"THE TRIAL OF JEANNE D'ARC"

Production by the Religious Drama Society

It may be possible for the ordinary lover of drama to see the story of Joan of Arc performed on the stage, but to the active Suffragist, even if she is not an active militant, the poignancy of this tragedy of an heroic child is almost unendurable in dramatic form. Mr. Edward Garnett's play, "The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc," which was given by the Religious Drama Society at the West London Ethical Church, last Sunday evening, is a restrained and balanced piece of work, relying entirely upon the simple facts of the story for its effect and not upon any of the devices of the stage. Yet, even seen, as on Sunday evening, without the ordinary accompaniments of stage-lighting and other professional aids to production, the play is so tragic, so dramatic, and so true as to be scarcely bearable in the eyes of the spectator who has been fighting inside the woman's movement of the last seven years.

Like all true stories, that of the child who was inspired to combat with her spirit all the physical forces of her day, is a story of all the ages. The trial scene in Mr. Garnett's play, where Joan parries the combined, blundering attack of her judges with wit, truth, and a sublime faith in her cause and the God Who made it hers, might be a Suffragist trial in the Old Bailey to-day. "The Court," she cries, "is both prosecutor and judge." How often have we said the same?

Again, when they want to know why her banner was taken into Rheims Cathedral with Charles: "My banner," she proudly says, "had shared in the pain. It was only right it should share in the honour." When they try to trick her with Lloyd Georgian promises into a recantation: "I will never deny my voices!" she exclaims.

"It is their design to fret her to a shadow and bring her low," says one of the few who pity her in that English prison where she asks in vain for a woman to be with her, where they threaten her with the rack and the stake. Remembering recent happenings in Holloway Gaol, we cannot feel that the world has travelled very far since 1431.

"A DAUGHTER OF FRANCE"

Suffragists will be interested in a little play which is running at the Ambassadors Theatre entitled "A Daughter of France." Lydia Yavorska plays the title rôle with consummate ability, and effectively brings out the woman's case in the story.

We offer our congratulations to the authors of the play, one of whom, Miss Constance Maud, is the distinguished writer who has more than once contributed to our columns.

"THE WORLD OF A CHILD"

"We want to discover the child's processes of thought," Mr. Housman says in his interesting preface, and in this story we certainly get some glimpses of the inner life of the little girl, Judy, and they probably mirror that of many thoughtful, brooding children. Judy's is a complex and contradictory nature, loving, yet often hard, proud and shy. She retires, when hurt or humiliated, into a dream world in which she figures as a beautiful majestic person. Her conception of God as an old man in a white robe, all day and all night pacing slowly over the floor of heaven (the sky), watching intently and silently the people He had made, is one of her most striking recollections. It was probably the conception formed by most children of her generation, though few recall it consciously. Judy's fear of water and her awe of her father belong to her own personality. Her recollections from five to nine years of age are an interesting attempt at revealing a child's psychology.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Commercialised Prostitution in New York." By George J. Kneeland. (London: Grant Richards, Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.)

"A Changed Man and other Tales." By Thomas Hardy. (London: Macmillan. Price 6s.)

"Step Children of Nature." By Alexandra Watson. (London: Howard Latimer. Price 6s.)

"Mrs. Edwardes' Cookery Book." (London: Werner Laurie. Price 6s.)

"Jane Austen." By F. Warre Cornish. (London: Macmillan. Price 2s. net.)

"Shelley, Godwin, and Their Circle." By H. N. Brailsford, M.A. (London: Williams and Norgate. Price 1s. net.)

"Modern Woman and How to Manage Her." By Walter M. Gallichan. (London: Werner Laurie. Price 1s. net.)

"The World of a Child." By M. V. Woodgate. With a Preface by Laurence Housman. (Heath, Cranton, and Ouseley. Price 2s. net.)

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National Week of Prayer,
NOVEMBER 1st to 8th, 1913.

In connection with the observance of the above

A UNITED PUBLIC MEETING

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SPEAKERS: Miss Abadam, Catholic W.S.S.; Rev. Claud Henscliff, Church League for W.S.; Rev. C. Fleming Williams, Free Church League for W.S.; Mrs. Margaret Ford Smith, Friends' League for W.S.; Rev. Joseph Hochman, Jewish League for W.S.; Lady Frances Balfour, Scottish Churches League for W.S.

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1913.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Mr. Lloyd George has been seeing a deputation of women suffragists, and telling them how fervently he believes in their cause. He has also been explaining to them that the Government of which he is a member have not the slightest intention of carrying a Woman Suffrage Bill during the present Parliament.

It is all the fault of militancy, he says; the Parliament of 1906 contained a huge majority of members friendly to woman suffrage, but now, owing to militancy, the splendid support of Parliament has withered away. But the great-hearted champion doesn't despair; if women will give up all thought of a moderate measure—an "instalment" he calls it—and insist upon getting a huge measure of enfranchisement or nothing at all, if they will give up militancy and all political opposition to the Government, and confine themselves to purely propaganda work, then, *perhaps*, at the next general election they will make such an effect upon the electors that women will secure the franchise in the next Parliament!

It is all so ingenious and so plausible that we rub our eyes and wonder whether we have not been dreaming all these past eight years, and whether, after all, we are not the bad fairies who have been thwarting the benign efforts of the good fairy, Lloyd George, to give women the vote. And then we go back over the *facts*; we trace, step by step, the words and the deeds of the "good fairy," and we are satisfied that the dream is with Mr. Lloyd George and the realities with us.

Right back in 1906—the golden era of woman suffrage in the House of Commons, according to Mr. Lloyd George—a votes for women resolution was introduced. It formed the subject of ribald jest and side splitting mirth, and was talked out. In the next year, 1907, a Woman Suffrage Bill was introduced and also talked out. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman expressly stated that there was not the smallest chance of woman suffrage being carried in that Parliament. The reason he gave was that the "cabinet were divided." In 1908 Mr. Herbert Gladstone, speaking from the Government benches, gave the same advice to women that Mr. Lloyd George is giving to-day. "Go out and demonstrate," he said in effect, "show, by large outdoor demonstrations, your desire for the franchise." Women at once organised and carried out his suggestion; the "constitutionals" held a monster procession, and the militants a mighty demonstration in Hyde Park, which the *Times* admitted numbered half a million. Mr. Asquith's only answer was to refuse to see a deputation from either society.

Then came two years of strenuous militancy, great deputations of militant women to the House of Commons, vigorous opposition to the Government at by-elections, stirring scenes whenever a Cabinet minister spoke in public—Mr. Asquith, on his visit to Birmingham, preferring to go through the city by underground passages. When, at last, in 1910 a truce was declared, the tone and temper of the House of Commons had altogether changed. A moderate measure known as the Conciliation Bill, which would have given the vote to women householders (numbering about a million) was drafted by the agreement of a House of Commons Committee, drawn from all parties.

It was then that the "good fairy" first came prominently into the field. He said it was too small a measure, and must be thrown out. He gave his vote against it, and urged everyone he could to do likewise. In spite of his strenuous opposition the House of Commons carried the second reading by a large majority. But the Government blocked its further progress.

In 1911 the Bill was brought in again in a slightly modified form. This time the "good fairy" voted for it, but only on the distinct understanding that he should try, at a subsequent stage, to get it increased so as to include about six million women—the result of which everyone knew would be that the Bill would become unacceptable to its "moderate" supporters, and would be defeated.

However, the Bill never got so far as the subsequent stages in 1911, for the Government again blocked it. But they promised that in 1912 the Bill should not be blocked, that the Government would remain neutral, and that this promise should be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter. Women accepted this promise. The militant lion lay down with the law-abiding lamb, and even the anti-government policy was stopped.

Then, in 1911, the "good fairy" struck a champion blow. He arranged with Mr. Asquith the introduction of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, the effect of which he himself announced with pride was to "torpedo" the Conciliation Bill! This Manhood Suffrage Bill, introduced by the Government of which Lloyd George was a prominent member, would give the vote to nearly all men, while rigidly excluding all women. The only concession was that there was attached to it a pledge that it should be so drafted as to be capable of amendment to include women in case the House of Commons wished to alter it in this way. This was heralded by Mr. Lloyd George, its author, as a "great opportunity" for women. In the end, the Cabinet even failed to draft the Bill so as to be capable of amendment to include women, and when this fact became known coolly substituted for their twice broken pledge facilities for a party measure, which never had the remotest chance of passing into law. After these betrayals the militant suffrage movement took on its present revolutionary character.

Taking these facts into consideration, we have five questions to put to Mr. Lloyd George.

Firstly, if it is militancy that has destroyed the chance of woman suffrage in the present Parliament, how does he account for the fact that it was he himself, by his own admission, who, in a time of truce, deliberately destroyed the one measure which had a chance of passing into law?

Secondly, does he suggest that it was militancy which prevented the Cabinet from carrying out its own pledges to draft the Manhood Suffrage Bill in such a way as to be capable of amendment to include women, or when that failed of providing any genuine substitute?

Thirdly, would he believe in the sincerity of any man who, on some other question, spoke and voted against all "instalments" or moderate measures of reform, and insisted relentlessly upon "all or nothing?"

Fourthly, what means does he suggest that the electors at the general election will have of showing their desire for votes for women unless he induces the leader of his party to put it on the party programme?

And lastly, has Mr. Lloyd George ever, by a single act, done anything to justify his assertion that he is a friend of woman suffrage? Do not every deed of his cry aloud that he is one of the most dangerous of its foes?

THE BISHOP'S MOVE

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

The present position of the woman's question in this country is intolerable. The whole community is profoundly unsatisfied, anxious, and humiliated about the matter. But in face of the close conspiracy of silence taken up by the political parties, including their organs, the political Press, the community can find no voice wherewith to express itself. Hundreds of letters on this subject have been, we have every reason to know, rejected every day for the past few weeks by the daily papers.

But at last a man has been found strong enough to give expression to the profound uneasiness of the national conscience. All men and women of goodwill must heartily welcome the letter by the Bishop of Winchester published last Friday in the *Times*. The Bishop of Winchester lays down the proposition with regard to the betterment of women's position that *the matter is now before the nation, as a first rate political question for solution outside controversies of political party.*

Upon that ground he appeals to the two combatants directly concerned in the present conflict, namely, to the Government and to the militants, and also to third parties, which cannot be absolved from responsibility, namely, to the electors, and further to the community as a whole.

To the militants he appeals for a "Truce of God." In other words, he calls upon the militants to abandon militancy. To the Government he appeals for "a definite proposal of the introduction of a Suffrage Bill as a first-class measure," coupled with a "general amnesty." To the electors he appeals for acknowledgment of the fact that women's revolt at the present day is "the bitter crop of a long and cruel sowing." Upon the community the Bishop of Winchester urges the recognition of "the reality, depth, and strength of a movement among women asking for a fuller life, greater honour, and worthier treatment by men."

In order to ascertain upon which side lie the essential rights in the present deplorable conflict it is necessary to go back to the beginning of this revival of the demand for women's enfranchisement eight years ago, and to consider how it came about in the first instance that a question that should be determined by the triumph of reason and of right should ever have entered a phase of violence.

"Just a Little Physical Force"

Eight years ago women began to attend public meetings addressed by representatives of the Government in order to put a perfectly right and reasonable question in the duly appointed manner. The very first time they attempted in this way to bring before the public a question that had been successfully ignored for two generations by politicians, they were violently handled by Liberal stewards, who acted pro tem. as the Government's agents, forcibly ejected, and subsequently wrongfully imprisoned. From that time to the present moment every attempt on the part of women to ask a question at a public meeting has been dealt with by assault and forcible ejection. Thus have the Government answered the women who dared to press home to them in public assembly the question of the enfranchisement of their sex by saying in effect: We will not meet you in argument, we will silence this public appeal to reason by the use of just a little physical force.

When two years later women attempted to exercise the right of petition explicitly assured to all subjects of the Crown in the Bill of Rights, they were again met with physical force, and now a greater degree of violence was considered necessary for the purpose of terrorising them. Carefully observing all the conditions laid down in the Statutes of the Realm, the so-called "militants"—as yet only politically militant—went in small deputations of twelve persons to Parliament to lay their case before the Prime Minister. At first they were arrested and imprisoned. But the Government, finding this method of repression too gentle and ineffective, gave orders through the Home Secretary that led to women being assaulted, kicked, flung into the crowd, and foully insulted for hours on end, before they were allowed that measure of protection accorded to the meanest criminal, of shelter in the police station. Many women were injured for life. One of them died shortly afterwards from the consequences.

For technical offences involving mere breach of the bye-laws honourable women, actuated by unselfish motives, were sentenced by an artful manipulation of police-court procedure to long terms of imprisonment. In prison humiliations were heaped upon them, and they were classed with and treated as the offscourings of society. They were taunted with being possessed of a morbid and insane desire for imprisonment and goaded at last into the passive resistance of the hunger strike, which was met, long

before the violence used against them had incited them to violent retaliation, by the cruelty of forcible feeding.

Even that was not enough. It needed the explicit and direct incitement of several representatives of the Government, and especially the historic incitement to arson made by Mr. Hobhouse in his speech at Bristol (that jeering, provocative speech upon which Mr. Justice Darling commented so severely), to drive a section of women from symbolic militancy into the declaration of a war upon property and actual revolution.

The tactical mistake of the Government as the instigator of violence was a grievous one. They chose the weapon of physical force because women were better armed than they were with argument and reason, and with regard to this matter of elementary justice, they felt that on the plane of physical force only could they have women at a disadvantage. But they thought at the first that it would need only a little physical force to subdue troublesome women. That was their fatal error in judgment. Led on by the same spirit of blindness, they were subsequently induced to believe that stronger measures of violence would succeed where the more elementary ones had ignominiously failed. They ended after six years by evoking the spirit of rebellion that they are now

trying to quell by methods of coercion that are a degradation to the British name.

We put the following question in the name of common-sense to practical men and women: Is it conceivable that the women who have been relentlessly goaded into revolution are in a position now to offer terms of peace? How can the pressure of public opinion have any influence upon women rendered desperate by repression? Deliberately, after years of patient forbearance, these women have adopted the decision that rebellion is the only possible answer to coercion. Torture itself is powerless to shake them from that position. For them the bitterness of death is past. No menace of further evil can affect them in any way.

It is obviously the Government that must make the first move in the direction of peace. It is upon the Ministers of the Crown that the pressure of public opinion must be directed by the votes of the electors and the voice of the Church. It is the Government who instituted the use of methods of violence in this controversy. It is for them now to withdraw from the plane of physical force and to make overtures in the name of reason and good government. And it is the duty of electors who have the welfare of this nation to a large extent in their keeping to compel them so to act, and to bring this grave scandal to an end.

THE AWAKENING OF PAULINE FARRER

By E. J. Hatfield

Pauline Farrer left the meeting nearly converted. Somehow, in her quiet and sheltered life, the wrongs and disabilities of womanhood had never before seemed quite real to her. A very maternal woman, happy in her husband and her nursery of healthy children, she had been inclined to think that these women whose lot was not so fair as her own had to blame their own characters rather than external circumstances. But now she was thoroughly roused from her dream; and, as she sat drinking her tea amid the bustle of a public restaurant, she seemed to look at the world with new eyes.

Especially she looked at the women round her with an awakened interest. She was unsettled, aroused; she felt she could not go back yet to her sleeping children. She must hear more, know more; a feminist play occurred to her; she would go there. Influenced unconsciously by the self-reliance and self-confidence of the afternoon's speakers, she forgot that she had never before been to a theatre alone. A new independence filled her.

This settled, her thoughts drifted again to the last speaker and her parting words: "Go, every one of you here, and strike a blow in the woman's battle, each in your own way."

Pauline wondered what she could do; the facts startled her, the arguments appealed to her intellect. Things must be altered. But she could not believe in militancy. These fighting women were in too great a hurry. All reforms were slow, and the thing must come in time. It might take twenty years—or even fifty. But in the meantime one could talk, could hold meetings, could gradually convert the country.

The play was over. Absorbed in the thoughts the day had aroused, Pauline made her way to the Tube. As she hurried on she was aware of a pair of eyes that met hers boldly, but this hardly disturbed her reverie. The day had held so much for her, that she was now in a state of spiritual upheaval, through which external facts penetrated but dully.

She was in the lift before she again became aware of her surroundings. Standing in an immovable crowd of people, she suddenly felt a touch on her ungloved hand, and, looking up, she met those same eyes, bold, staring, insolent. She looked hastily away, but was still conscious of the pressure of a masculine hand, while those eyes seemed to sear her very soul. Writhing in sick disgust and loathing and shame, it appeared to her a lifetime since the lift began to descend. It was down at last; the heavy gates clashed back, and release seemed very near. Pauline lingered behind, letting her tormenter pass out with the crowd. Then, with a beating heart, she hastened along the passage that led to the platform.

Half-way there was a sharp turn, and dashing round this, she almost ran into him. He had waited for her; his eyes met hers again, insolent, triumphant. "Good evening," she heard, as she hurried past. He was following her. She must rid herself somehow of this tormentor.

Suddenly her fear dropped from her; she turned on him, blazing with anger. "Behave yourself," she cried, in a voice so altered, that it was hardly recognisable in her ears.

The man slunk away without a word, and Pauline,

with flushed face and burning eyes, found herself in the train. A mixture of anger and shame possessed her—anger at the ordering of a world where a woman may not feel sure of walking unmolested; shame that any man should have thought it possible by such attentions to win her favour.

The train sped on, and the silent fields lay on both sides. She grew calmer, and her thoughts went back to the speaker of the afternoon, and to the talk of the comradeship between women. A new insight was hers; those words became charged with meaning. A vision of her tormentor as lover, as husband, as father was before her. An infinite pity for the women of his circle possessed her heart, and with it came a deeper understanding of those who would give their lives to free such women from their chains.

Pauline was home at last. A dim light flickered in the nursery, and she went to kiss her sleeping children. For a long time she stood at her boy's bedside, looking at his flushed and smiling face, and as she gazed, she took the last step along the path of her awakening. That man with the shameless eyes must have been like this once, as gentle, as innocent, as full of happy human possibilities. She was seized with a vast tormenting pity. She reviewed her own happy home life, full of the poetry of healthy human love, and the joys of responsible parenthood. He had missed all this, had exchanged his human birthright for a mess of pottage, so blind that he did not know, could not value what he had missed.

All through that night Pauline sat there thinking, picturing the home conditions, the conditions in the great world outside, which had made that man what he was. She became conscious of that terrible failure of womanhood to direct and guide those forces which exist for her maternal purpose. Slowly rose the certainty that they—her sex—were in some dim uncomprehended way responsible for a public opinion that made possible such unhealthy and perverted growth as she had encountered last night. A sense of feminine responsibility was at last fully aroused. Before it, doubt, hesitation, and lack of courage faded away. She was conscious of nothing but that awful responsibility of motherhood, that dire necessity forcing women to try, at least, to create a world where little children may grow up to a clean and sane and healthy manhood and womanhood.

"I can only say that I did it because it was my duty to my children, and to all children."

The magistrate did not understand. He could not see the vision that sustained her through it all, with a sense of spiritual exaltation—the vision of a sleeping, innocent boy child, and the other picture of a lift, and of a grossly sensual man. For her it was war to the death with those beliefs and conditions which could turn the one into the other. Her old dream of a slow conversion was gone; for while that canker was allowed to eat, though never so gently, at the hearts of men, there could be for them no conversion.

Once more she raised her voice in protest: "And I say here that, had I ten lives, I would gladly give them all could I save my boy, or any other woman's boy, from entering on that path of sexual degradation which, more effectually than deafness, or blindness, or any other physical ill, will shut him out from the beauty and poetry of the world."

DEPUTATION TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE

On Thursday morning in last week the Chancellor of the Exchequer received a deputation at Swindon from the local branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Our comments upon his pronouncement will be found in the leading article of this issue.

The Rev. J. Ivory Cripps having introduced the deputation and outlined its purpose, Mr. Lloyd George said:—

MR. LLOYD GEORGE

You, sir, very well said at the start that no arguments were required to convince me of the justice of the demand which has been put forward on behalf of women for equality in all the rights and privileges of citizenship which are now enjoyed by men. I have been a convinced supporter of the suffrage for a very considerable number of years, and I have never been able to appreciate the arguments which have appealed to men of great intellectual strength and power, whose intellects I respect and admire—I have never been able quite to see the force of those arguments which have convinced them in the opposite sense.

All the Old Arguments

Mr. Lloyd George then brought forward the argument of the man and woman in the home to illustrate his belief in the partnership of man and woman in the State, and continued:—

No harm could come of the experiment. If men are the stronger, they will be dominant; if they are not the stronger sex, there is no reason why they should be dominant. There are strong men and also weak men; there are weak women, also strong women; and the strongest in each sex would be able to bring the best of their activities, their qualities, and their virtues to bear upon the problems which require all the capacity of the race in order to solve them. Therefore I am not merely a supporter of the suffrage; I am a convinced supporter of the suffrage, and I am a consistent supporter of the suffrage in spite of all the suspicions to the contrary.

Women and Land Reform

With regard to his land programme, Mr. Lloyd George proceeded:—

I cannot think of any item in that programme in which women are not as much interested as men, but I can think of many items in that programme in which they are more interested than men. Take, for instance, the housing part of the programme, which interested the audience very deeply. I noticed that. Yet it is much more a problem for women than it is for men. The man is all day out in the fields, but the woman is in the wretched home all day. The home, I won't say is entirely hers, but it is really her sovereignty. It is her care, it is her anxiety. It is her worry, and it is too often her despair. Therefore to settle the housing problem without inviting the opinion of women, I think, is an act of stupidity in the organisation of government which I cannot understand, and it shows how deep-rooted prejudices are that very able and enlightened men cannot see that.

Take the minimum wage. It is paid to the man, but it is dispensed by the woman, and if it does not go round, it is her trouble very largely. It is she who is the chancellor of the exchequer of the family, and when there is a demand from every department of her family for cash and she has to face a deficiency, well, speaking as Chancellor of the Exchequer, I know what that means. At any rate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a rich country can think about taxing somebody. But the poor woman cannot. She does not know where to turn, and she has to face her children who are crying for more food. Therefore it seems to me to be so much a problem for the women that I think the time is coming when she ought to be called in to express, not inarticulately, not in groans and murmurs, but officially and effectively through the medium of the ballot-box, what her views are as to what should be done in the solution of these problems.

I am more of a women's suffragist to-day than I have ever been.

A Denunciation of Militancy

How is it that, with so many men in the Cabinet who take exactly the same view as I do—men like the Foreign Secretary, whose influence and whose power nobody can possibly challenge or doubt; the Lord Chancellor, who is also a man of great genius and power, Mr. Birrell, and others—we are unable to get this thing

through? It is no use denying facts. The one fact is that, in a Parliamentary sense, the movement has gone back. That is the first fact we have got to grasp. In 1906 there was a huge majority in Parliament for it. In the last two Sessions we have been beaten, and you may depend upon it that, in a movement like this, Parliament represents the temporary mood of the nation. I do not deny what has been said, that there is a growing conviction in favour of the suffrage amongst large masses of the population, but there is another feature which is an unpleasant one—there has been a growing feeling amongst other sections against it. Some years ago the feeling was one rather of indifference. There was a very strong woman suffrage movement. On either side there was a great mass of indifference. I think, under those conditions you could have put it through.

In Wales and Ireland

But it is no use under-estimating the effect of militancy. The effect has been enormous, but it has been to convert that indifference into something like bitter hostility. I can see it in my own constituency. A few years ago there was a very considerable suffrage feeling in the constituency. The majority of the people were, I should say, indifferent—but the eruption of militancy in Wales has outraged national sentiment. There is hostility there now which never existed before against woman suffrage. You will find that in every part of the country. In Ireland the militants have gone out of their way to create an anti-suffrage feeling which never existed there before. They went to Dublin, and so far as I can see, they tried to murder the Irish leader by flinging a hatchet at his head. They tried to break up a great Nationalist meeting at Belfast. What is the result? Irish sentiment is against it where before, on the whole, it was inclined to be friendly. It is no use denying these facts. For the moment, the militants have created a situation which is the worst I have ever seen for woman suffrage in Parliament.

The Prime Minister's Position

It is all very well to blame the Prime Minister. He has been quite frank about this question. He is against it, but he did as a great Liberal leader was bound to do. He said, "If the sentiment of Parliament is in favour of it, I am not going to allow my personal views to stand in the way of putting into material form a demand from the nation." He could not have done more than that, and I do not think it is right to ask him. Parliament has expressed its opinion twice in succession and thrown the Bill out—much more on its merits than you would imagine. That represents the attitude of Parliament towards the question. There is a feeling of anger and irritation which is rather weak. It is rather weak to be rushed out of real convictions by any personal irritation. No one has been worried more by militancy than I have, but I do not think it has altered my views on the question. On the whole I think I am a much stronger Suffragist than I was seven years ago. I was reminded of a speech I delivered some time ago at Bath. I took some trouble to present the case—it was very important that I should be allowed to present it from the Suffragist point of view—but I was not allowed to utter a single sentence without having suffragists interrupting me. You can imagine what feelings people had. They would say, "Really, can you give votes to people who would conduct their campaign on those lines?" There is no use brushing aside militancy with a sentence and saying, "We deplore it, but you should not allow your judgment to be influenced."

The Support of the Wobblers

There is one fundamental fact which is borne in upon every man who has had anything to do with putting big proposals through Parliament. You carry these things through, not merely with the assistance of the people who are thoroughly convinced, but with the aid of the people who merely assent, and you must remember that the majority of people who support you are mere assenters and not supporters. The majority of the people are in the main indifferent. You have a number of people very enthusiastic. They press the case, and the rest assent. I want to get that into the minds of Suffragists. They must carry the assent of the public with them, where they cannot arouse their enthusiasm. The enthusiasts will be only a pro-

portion. You must get the rest, and that is the harm that militancy is doing. I am very glad to see its support is withering. It is the best omen I have yet seen of the success of the movement.

Dramatic Without Being Repellent

The Suffragist pilgrimage was one of the cleverest political moves in recent times. The Suffragists, I agree, ought to do something dramatic to arrest attention—something dramatic without being repellent. It should be real. It is no good burning down pavilions, churches, and railway sidings, and menacing the lives of poor workmen, who, after all, are not responsible for the present condition of things. You do not gain anything by that, as you would do by a great movement like the pilgrimage. I should like to see Suffragists throughout the country doing more of that sort of thing. That is how they have won the vote in every other country—in Australia, in New Zealand, in Norway. They are winning state after state in the United States, and it is very significant that Mrs. Pankhurst has had to give a pledge that there would be no militancy there, not even preached. That shows that, in a country where women have the vote, it has been achieved by peaceful methods.

An Instalment Worse than Nothing

I do not despair of something—not an instalment, I think this is one of those cases where an instalment is worse than nothing—I do not despair of a real measure of woman suffrage being carried in this country within a short time. Not in this Parliament, however; I think this Parliament has been ruined so far as suffrage is concerned. It has been antagonised; its mind is poisoned. I do not despair at all if, at the next General Election, women are well organised and present their case to the electorate rationally and in a way that shows they are capable of self-restraint, which is the first test of the fitness for self-government. I am sure they will be able to make such an impression at the polls that men who are opposed to the suffrage will find, on the whole, that it will be better for them to reconsider their views, and to pledge themselves to support an advanced measure of woman suffrage which will include not merely picked, selected women, but all the women of Great Britain who have got responsibilities in this country. That is my hope, and my advice will be that women should undertake a campaign of that character in the way which they have shown they can so well accomplish, and that they should do it with the whole of their energies between now and the next General Election.

MRS. FAWCETT'S CRITICISM

At the Westminster Palace Hotel, last Friday, Mrs. Fawcett criticised very strongly Mr. Lloyd George's pessimistic view of the woman suffrage situation. She began by saying she was glad to know that Mr. Lloyd George was a stronger suffragist than he was seven years ago, but he was not exceptional in that respect. When a man began to say, "I, even I alone am left," he was very often mistaken. An angel once came from heaven to tell such a man he was wrong. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies must tell Mr. Lloyd George that there was no set-back in the women's movement. If the House of Commons thought there was, it merely proved that the House of Commons did not know what was going on in the world.

Advance—Not a Set-back

The movement had really made a tremendous advance. Mr. Lloyd George's speech itself was a sign—and there had within the past twelve months been many other signs of its progress—for instance, the vote carried by the National Union of Women Workers in favour of taking definite action to secure women's enfranchisement, the resolutions carried by the Labour Conference directing Labour members to vote against any extension of the franchise that did not include women, the resolution of the Trade Unions Congress in Manchester, the resolution of the Men's Liberal Association in Scotland, and the resolution that the "Provisional Government" in Ulster should give votes to women. Mr. Lloyd George had spoken of the enormous set-back to the women's movement in Ireland, but there were more signs of the progress of the women's suffrage movement in Ireland than ever before in its history. Undoubtedly Mr. Lloyd George was under the impression that there had been a set-back, but where did he find the evidence? It was probably the experience of each member of the audience that she could find twenty suf-

fragists to-day for every one she knew a few years before.

"Absurd and Unstatesmanlike."

Answering Mr. Lloyd George's allegations about militancy, Mrs. Fawcett declared it was an absurd and unstatesmanlike suggestion that the efforts of friends in Parliament had been paralysed by militancy. Why should they be? When methods of violence had been resorted to in India, both Houses of Parliament recognised that there would not be violence without some cause. As Mr. Churchill had said recently, Liberalism was successful because it did not deal with the symptoms of discontent, but with the cause. In the case of women's suffrage, what did the Liberal Government offer? Violence and coercion, and nothing but violence and coercion. That was her objection to militancy, said Mrs. Fawcett—that it met evil with evil, coercion with coercion.

Opinions Abroad

Mrs. Fawcett then gave a review of the movement all over the world, and speaking of the administration of the criminal acts in England as compared with other countries, cited "infamous cases" of White Slavery over here who "had been treated with infinitely more leniency than the poor little clerk in the W.S.P.U. office, who had had nothing whatever to do with the policy of that society."

At the International Women's Congress at Budapest, continued Mrs. Fawcett, some of the delegates favoured militancy—but not in their own country. "Some foreigners," she added, "think the Englishman is a perfectly scandalously brutal man in his relations to women. You cannot persuade them that that is not true, although we did everything in our power to convince them that they were labouring under a gross misapprehension."

The Bishop of Winchester's Letter.

Finally, Mrs. Fawcett spoke with deep appreciation of the letter from the Bishop of Winchester, published in the *Times* on Friday morning, and said she could assure him, on behalf of the National Union, that any practical outcome of the economic, social, and moral condition of women would receive sympathetic attention from all its members, who would not, however, relax their determination to secure their political citizenship.

"THE CHANCELLOR'S PICTURESQUE ACCOUNT"

In the course of a letter to the Press which appeared on Tuesday morning, Mrs. Fawcett wrote: "This is not the occasion to follow the Chancellor's picturesque account of the causes of the withdrawal of the support of the Irish Nationalists which occasioned the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in March, 1912. It is sufficient here to point out that it was not caused by Mrs. Leigh throwing a hatchet at Mr. Redmond in the following July. The real cause is well known, and was described by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., with admirable naïveté in a communication to the *Chicago Tribune*, dated January 25, 1913. It is probable that when Mr. Lloyd George goes to Dublin he will learn from the Irish Suffragists that their cause is stronger in Ireland to-day than it has ever been before."

ANOTHER SUFFRAGIST OPINION

"A Treacherous and Inveterate Enemy"

Miss Nina Boyle, in an interview, was extremely outspoken on the subject of Mr. Lloyd George's remarks. "It is a great pity," she is reported as saying, "that any Suffrage Society should go to such a treacherous and inveterate an enemy as Mr. Lloyd George for his views on the movement. With reference to his opinion that there is no chance of a Woman Suffrage Bill being passed in the present Parliament, I feel sure that if we can only bring sufficient pressure to bear, the measure will go through."

Miss Boyle further said it was not true that Suffrage prospects were never worse than at present, and with regard to the Chancellor's assertion about the effect of militancy on the present Parliament, she added:—

"That is where he makes a serious mistake. Members of Parliament do not reflect the feeling of the country. He is dealing in his usual exaggerated way with circumstances about which he has not taken the trouble to inform himself."

A LITTLE LATE

We note that the leading article in the *Daily News* of last Friday says:—"It is indisputable that, as Mr. Lloyd George told a Swindon deputation, the pushing of militancy to the extreme after it had exhausted its usefulness has done the movement for the emancipation of women immeasurable harm."

We are glad to hear that there has ever been a time when the *Daily News* thought that militancy was being "useful." But why did it not say so at the time?

RELEASE AFTER A FORTNIGHT'S TORTURE

Miss Mary Richardson Again Breaks Through Prison Bars

Miss Mary Richardson, having already proved the futility of the Cat and Mouse Act, has now proved the inability of the Home Office to keep her in prison by means of forcible feeding. After inflicting this indefensible outrage upon her for more than a fortnight, at the end of which her terrible condition made an operation for appendicitis necessary, Mr. McKenna was compelled to release her last Saturday afternoon—not unconditionally, as would have been the case before the Act was passed which was supposed to put a stop to forcible feeding, but on a seven-teen days' licence only. We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the Home Office intends to re-arrest Miss Richardson and resume feeding her by force as soon as by the efforts of her own doctors and friends she has been sufficiently restored to health for her life not to be immediately endangered by the repetition of the loathsome process. When we went to press, Miss Richardson, although slightly better and in less pain, was still far too ill for any operation to be performed.

"Health Gives No Cause for Anxiety"

Only on Tuesday, October 21, four days before she was released in this critical condition, Mr. McKenna's secretary wrote as follows to the Women's Social and Political Union:—

"I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that she is receiving all necessary medical attention, and that, although she is refusing to take food voluntarily, her condition of health gives at present no cause for anxiety." The italics are ours.

The above communication was in answer to one requesting that Miss Mary Richardson be examined by a specialist on tuberculosis, a request supported by an enclosed letter from Doctor Ellen La Motte, Miss Richardson's own medical attendant, who declared this to be necessary in consequence of the four hunger strikes she had already undergone this summer, which, in Doctor La Motte's opinion, had "lighted up an old lesion." Doctor La Motte affirms in the same letter that Miss Richardson, when examined by her at the beginning of this month, remarked that the questions addressed to her were the same as those put by the Holloway doctor in the summer. "From this it would seem," remarks Doctor La Motte, "that the Holloway physician must have known that she had tuberculosis, or have had his suspicions as to what was the matter with her. If he does not know that she has it, that does not speak well for his ability; if he knows, and believes it well to forcibly feed her, that would seem to be a most highly dangerous thing to do."

Miss Richardson's Account

Miss Richardson's own account of her condition, written three or four days before her release, is as follows:—

"I have been in solitary confinement and forcibly fed for the last two weeks. I am a mass of sores and bruises, especially about the arms and shoulders. My right shoulder is all raw; the skin is worn off, and I have had to put a bandage on. The skin is right off my shoulder in parts. I suffer in my head, ears, and eyes, with severe neuralgia caused by the nasal tube. I also suffer very much from sleeplessness. The doctors administer strong tonics and medicines by the tube before pouring in the other fluid food. After the tube is taken out I have tasted something bitter, like quinine. I think the fluid food is Brand's Essence, Horlick's Malted Milk, some sweet infants' food, and eggs beaten up. The insertion of the tube is very painful indeed, as it is too large for my nasal cavity. For the last ten days I have had no motion."

Had She Near Relations?

It is perhaps worth while reminding our readers of the statement made by Miss Richardson on her release after hunger-striking on August 3. She said:—

"On Thursday Dr. Pearson began to question me about militancy, asking me if I was going to be militant when I went out, and I said of course I was. On Friday he asked me very carefully, and in a curious way, whether I had any relatives—especially whether I had a mother, father, or any near relations. Then he went on again about militancy, asking me if I was going to be militant

when I went out again. On Saturday he asked me again was I going to continue being militant, and I told him I should be militant as long as I could stand or see. He said, 'It is just coming to this: very stern measures will be adopted.' I said, 'You cannot do more than kill me.' He then said, 'It is not a question of killing you. Next time you will be kept fourteen days until you are a skeleton and a nervous and mental wreck, and then you will be sent to an institution where they look after mental wrecks.'

"That was the end of the conversation, as he was getting towards the door. He emphasised the mental part of the breakdown."

What are we to Think?

Knowing the respect of persons that has always been shown by the present Liberal Government in its dealings with Suffragist prisoners, we can only conclude that had Miss Richardson's answers convinced the officials that she had influential friends and relatives, she would not have been chosen as the first victim of the Home Office order for the resumption of forcible feeding. The Home Office, in this as in other matters, has entirely failed to grasp the fellowship that exists among Suffragists.

THE DOCTORS' RESPONSIBILITY

We understand that many suffragists are adopting the very good plan of writing or telephoning to their medical practitioners, whether men or women, pointing out to them that the whole medical profession is involved in the conduct of the present doctors who allow themselves to become the instruments of the Government's policy of torturing political prisoners, and calling upon them for the sake of their professional honour—if for no other reason—to denounce such servile action on the part of their colleagues, and to declare it contrary to all the canons of medical etiquette and procedure. This is an effective form of protest, and well within the power of militant and non-militant suffragists alike, who are all, of course, united in condemning the barbarous practice of forcible feeding. Even where a doctor is known to be opposed to forcible feeding his attention may well be called to his own responsibility in the matter.

Suffragists' March Along Harley Street

On Tuesday evening a procession of Suffragists marched along Harley and Wimpole Streets. They carried banners, "McKenna uses doctors to torture women." Afterwards a meeting was held outside Holloway Prison.

[A letter on Forcible Feeding from Doctor Barbara Tchaykovsky, which arrived too late for insertion, will appear in our next issue.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Miss Mary Richardson appears to have been specially marked out for torture and doom by the powers that be. At one stage the idea apparently was to drive her mad, but there was a change of tactics. A slightly less sensational method of barbarism is again being adopted. All the same, the business is revolting to the better feelings of humanity. This crude and cruel torture suggests that, so far as the master-class is concerned, this is the really Dark Age. What has become of the vaunted high spirit and sensitive conscience of Britain? All Britons are, in a sense, on trial. What have they to say for themselves?—*Daily Herald*.

The November issue of the organ of the Church League for Women's Suffrage contains an article on Forcible Feeding, in which the following passage occurs:—

"It is, of course, an enhancement of the barbarity that it should be practised upon women, normally law-abiding and of social worth, who have been goaded into rebellion by the refusal of justice and by more than the suspicion of political treachery. But our protest against the practice does not rest upon its accidental connection with the Suffrage agitation. We resist it as inhuman. It is, as carried out, simply an irresponsible form of torture. It may be more or less severe at the discretion of the Home Secretary and his officials. If we are really to return to the days of physical torture, let its amount and character be regulated and determined in open court."

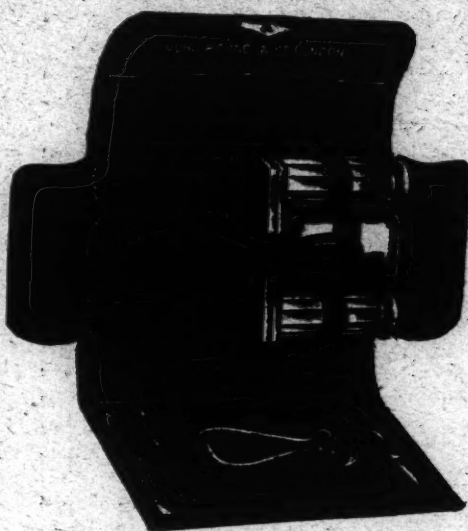
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A BIT OF DUBLIN IN SURREY



["Daily Mirror" Photograph.]

Little Irish Visitors Examining the Famous Mural Sundial

Through the courtesy of the "Daily Mirror," we have the pleasure of being able to give our readers, this week, two pictures of the six little Dublin girls who are staying at the cottage of the Editors of this paper. In spite of the long distance from Dublin and the troubles of the journey, they have very speedily made themselves at home in their new quarters and are enjoying the freshness of the country and the expanse of the common.

Of course they have not left behind their delightful Irish brogue and those special expressions of speech which sound so quaint to English ears. Nor have they left behind the bright, quick ways for which Irish children are so well known.

The mother of one of the children has come over with them and has been of very great help in brushing away all difficulties. The highly controversial religious question has been solved to the satisfaction of all by some friends of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence who live close by and are themselves Roman Catholics, who have kindly taken the children with them to mass and put them into communication with the Priest. In other respects the children have been busy picking up English ideas and English games; and though to-day they represent a little bit of Dublin in Surrey, when the strike is over and they go home, there is no doubt that they will carry a little bit of Surrey back with them to their native land.



At Tea in the Sundial Cottage

THE STATE AND THE CHILD

The State is every day taking over more of the duties of a parent. General Booth, in an interview published a few days ago in the *Westminster Gazette*, talked of the probable amendment of the Children Act, and greatly as we may feel that this faulty piece of legislation needs amendment, we cannot refrain from pointing out the danger of its being again approached by a Parliament responsible only to the men of the country. Similarly, the Report just issued of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools reveals not only the lack of the driving power of the woman's vote in the present unsatisfactory condition of these schools, but also the danger that lies in the recommendations of the Committee for their improvement so long as women have no real control over the State departments involved.

The State as Father to the Child

For the Committee is strongly of opinion that the control of the State over these great "barrack" schools should be considerably strengthened. Including the children actually in the schools and those who have left but are still under some sort of supervision, about 30,000 girls and boys are involved in the system altogether. Only twenty-two out of the existing 112 industrial schools are owned by local authorities; the rest of these, and all the thirty-seven reformatory schools are voluntary institutions. The function of the Home Office is to certify all the schools as fit institutions for the children committed to them by the Courts, to inspect them, and to close them if unfit, but it has no power to provide new schools in the place of those it closes. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Committee should recommend the formation of a new branch of the Home Office, to take over the entire machinery for dealing with the children who come before the Courts, including the management of the industrial and reformatory schools. But, as we have already said, this increased power given to the State is a doubtful advantage to the child as long as the State is not responsible to the women of the country as well as to the men.

More Women Inspectors

Another recommendation is that a woman medical inspector of the schools should be appointed, also an Advisory Committee of seven members, of whom three at least should be women, also that the Board of Education should co-operate with the Home Office in the inspection of the schools. At present, it appears that the time of the one woman inspector is taken up in visiting the girls' schools, and, says the Report: "All boys' schools should occasionally be visited by a woman inspector. . . . A woman will often notice points seriously affecting the comfort and welfare of the children . . . that may escape the notice of a man."

One would not have thought this very obvious truth needful of mention if one

had not read on and made the astonishing discovery that as at present constituted many of the school committees have no women members on them. "This is the case with all the boys' reformatories, four of the girls' reformatories, forty-one of the boys' industrial schools, and seven of the girls' industrial schools." Most of the girls' schools, too, have male medical attendants; the Committee recommends a woman doctor in every case.

Little Improvement since 1896

What is most obvious in the Report, however, is the present unsatisfactory condition of the schools, from a human point of view, and the little improvement that has been effected in them since the Departmental Committee of 1896 issued its recommendations. Many of these have never been carried into effect. In girls' schools, especially, the complaint is made that little progress has been made since that date in the occupations given, which still consist mainly of housework and so on. The Committee of 1896 called for "a large diminution of the drudgery in household work and rough washing," which is not yet apparent. The "Model Rules" still allow the barbaric punishment to be imposed of bread and water in substitution for dinner.

If Women had Votes

We do not think these old, bad defects would have remained unremedied for sixteen years if women were a political force in the country. If women's votes as well as men's were behind the administration of the Home Office, we doubt whether the system of reformatory and industrial schools would not have been replaced before this by some method more human and more elevating of dealing with young offenders who, in many cases, are more intelligent than their fellows. Those of us who have seen a boy or girl sent from the dock to one of these institutions, with the willing or unwilling consent of the father, while the illegal parent, the mother who brought it into the world, weeps unheeded at the back of the Court, are especially aware of the gravity of the State's responsibility in the matter, and we repeat that until the State is a mother as well as a father it has no right to set itself up as the parent of the child.

THE AGE OF CONSENT

A Private Member's Bill was introduced into the Australian State Parliament at the end of September to amend the Crimes Act by raising the age of consent for girls to 18, and a motion was at the same time agreed to that a return should be laid before the House showing the number of criminal offences against women and also against girls under 17 years of age during the year ending August 31, 1913. When will the British Parliament earn the salaries that women help to pay by giving up some of its time to matters of real importance like the above? When women who pay the piper are also enabled by means of the vote to call the tune.

Protection of Person and Property

The *Woman Voter* comments on this Bill as follows:—

"While thanking Mr. McLachlan for his attempt to obtain for girls better legal protection against vicious men than they have at present, we ask him, we ask the Chief Secretary, and all Members of Parliament to understand that women intend to have the same protection given to the person—of boys as well as girls—as is given to their property. Their property is protected until they attain their majority; their person must also be protected until they reach the age of 21."

RESPONSIBILITY—BUT NEVER POWER

In a lecture on "The National Importance of Women's Health," Dr. Alfred T. Schofield said on Monday afternoon that there are three lines of defence against disease—in the laws of the State, in that of the medical profession, and in that of private life, which is entirely in the hands of women.

We should very much like to know how the laws of private life can be entirely in the hands of women who are not even the legal parents of their children, who have no legal claim (unless they give up their private life and go into the workhouse) on their husband for maintenance, and who have no voice in the laws of the State that so closely affect those that govern private life as to be scarcely if at all distinguishable from these.

WHY THIS LIBERALISM?

We are surprised to see in a daily paper that "all possible steps are being taken to procure the early release of Mr. Bell," the Lisbon correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who has been arrested and imprisoned in a Portuguese barracks on the charge of maintaining relations with the Royalist conspirators and sending false news about Portuguese politics to his paper.

But several Englishwomen have been imprisoned over here for maintaining relations with Suffrage conspirators (with whose objects the British Government is theoretically in favour), and when in prison have been physically tortured, and after being released at the point of death have been put back into prison again to be tortured afresh.

Why this fuss over the much milder behaviour of the Portuguese authorities, who have never set themselves up as leaders of the world in matters of freedom?

["Daily Mirror" Photograph.]

MRS. DRUMMOND DISCHARGED

Discharged Because Companions were Found Guilty!

At Bow Street Police Court, on Thursday in last week, Mrs. Drummond surrendered to her bail on the charge of conspiring with the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union to commit damage to property. The six other officials of the W.S.P.U. charged with her were convicted, it will be remembered, last May, Mrs. Drummond's case having been remanded owing to her ill-health.

Mr. Bodkin's Speech

Mr. Bodkin conducted the case on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, and said that in the course of the police-court proceedings in May, Mrs. Drummond became ill and underwent a serious operation. Since she last appeared before the Court the position had been carefully considered by the Public Prosecutor and himself, and it had been decided not to proceed further with the matter for three reasons: First, the condition of Mrs. Drummond's health; secondly, the long period that had elapsed since the occurrence which gave rise to the prosecution; and, thirdly, all the other persons with whom Mrs. Drummond was originally charged had been convicted and punished, and it was hoped that this would be a warning to her not to become involved in such proceedings in the future.

Mr. Bodkin also observed that when Mrs. Drummond was last before the Court she declined to give any undertaking as to her conduct in the interim. He would not now ask her to give any undertaking, and if any charge were proved against her in future that fact would be taken into consideration.

A Dialogue with the Bench

Mrs. Drummond—Am I to understand that the case against me is withdrawn?

The Magistrate—They do not wish to press the case. I do not think you are in a fit state to undergo a prolonged trial, and I am going to adopt the suggestion made. I hope you will appreciate the consideration shown you and conduct yourself well in future.

Mrs. Drummond—Where do I stand? I want to know that. I am a constitutional organiser, and the police know my work. I had one summons served upon me in respect of a speech I made at the Albert Hall. Does this mean that I may be pounced upon again if I make a speech?

The Magistrate—You may speak, but you know what you may say, and what you ought not to say. No curb will be placed upon you if you keep within the law. Mrs. Drummond was then discharged.

Mr. HOUSMAN ON "BODKINISM"

In the *London Budget* last Sunday, Mr. Laurence Housman made a witty and at the same time scathing exposure of the methods of "Bodkinism" as applied in the case of Mrs. Drummond.

"Mrs. Drummond, we are told to believe," he says, "is in a more serious state of health now, before the life-saving appliances of the Government have touched her, than ever were Mrs. Pankhurst, Annie Kenney, Sylvia Pankhurst, Lilian Lenton, or Mary Richardson, on whom with such beneficent and recuperative results those life-saving appliances have been pressed again and again. They have not yet arrived at the 'letting off stage,' though some of them have been certified by doctors to have been brought by them into imminent danger of death.

"But outside the 'Cat-and-Mouse' Act the 'letting-off stage' has meanwhile quite easily been achieved by a man whom Mr. McKenna's Bill did not trouble to 'mouse'—a man who had criminally assaulted a young child, and who after serving six weeks of his nine months' sentence was set free with the full approval of Mr. McKenna, and is now well enough to have become once more a danger in the locality where he lives.

"The 'letting off' stage is different in different cases. In the case of a violator of young children 'impaired health' is the stage. In the case of Mr. George Lansbury, political exigencies and the fear of an East End riot are the stage. In the case of Mrs. Drummond, her inability, not to undergo ordinary imprisonment, but to be successfully 'moused,' is the stage. That is why Mrs. Drummond does not go to prison—not because she cannot live in confinement, but because she cannot be 'moused.' Mr. McKenna does not want to expose himself to another beating."

Why the Ulsterites are Free

Taking the second reason for Mrs. Drummond's acquittal—that her colleagues were convicted—Mr. Housman, with his remorse-

less logic, cries—"But oh! think of the danger Sir Edward Carson and the rest would have run had Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-conspirators all been found innocent! For if it is only because the others were found guilty that Mrs. Drummond goes free, then, evidently, had their innocence been proved Bodkin would have had to make his point elsewhere, and the political situation might have been very different from what it now is. Perhaps the juries who tried the W.S.P.U. leaders did not know at the time that in bringing them in guilty they were saying the political situation for the Government. But now they know. Bodkin has told them."

"So Long Ago"

"And finally," says Mr. Housman, "Mrs. Drummond is released because the things she was charged with 'happened so long ago!' But they happened at the very same time as the things that all the other prisoners were charged with—the things for which those other prisoners have ever since been paying a heavy price. 'So long ago!' The offence with which Miss Lenton is to be charged—when the police can catch her—has become quite as respectable in its antiquity as the offences from all charge of which Mrs. Drummond now goes scot free."

A Government, he concludes, which makes such "devastating excuses for its action must surely be in a bad way—either that or a revolution in its treatment of the Militant Suffragists is impending. On its present showing this latest bit of Bodkinism won't wash."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following cases have been attributed in the press during the last week to Suffragists:—

Thursday, October 23.—Bristol University athletic pavilion burnt down, damage estimated at £2,000. Suffrage literature found.

Friday, October 24.—Tube of phosphorus placed in letter-box at Greenwich.

Saturday, October 25.—Attempt to fire Northfield and Hagley Road Railway Stations, Birmingham.

Monday, October 27.—Large unoccupied house at Bramshott, Hants, property of Mr. McKenna's brother, destroyed by fire. Notice found: "Mr. McKenna. Coward. Very brave in torturing women, but afraid to touch men. A protest against forcible feeding. Votes for women."

Thirteen letter-boxes fired at Birmingham; a large number of letters destroyed.

Tuesday, October 28.—Shirley Manor, Wyke, Bradford (unoccupied), badly damaged by fire, right wing completely destroyed; damage estimated at £5,000. Suffrage literature found.

Supposed attempt to fire unoccupied house at Dorking.

"A MESSAGE TO GIVE MR. LLOYD GEORGE"

At Westminster Police Court, last Wednesday, Miss Freda Graham was sentenced on police evidence only to a fine of £20, or in default two months' imprisonment for an assault on the police. She denied the charge, and refused to pay the fine.

The occasion was the Baptist meeting at Westminster Chapel on Tuesday night, which was addressed by Mr. Lloyd George, and the alleged assault took place outside the chapel when the Chancellor was leaving by a side entrance. Sub-divisional Inspector Spikker said he was keeping back the crowd when some white powder was thrown, partially blinding him. Police-constable James said he saw the defendant throw the white powder, from which came the cloud of powder that fell over the inspector and himself. Another constable also said the package struck him on the helmet.

The defendant denied throwing any powder, but admitted throwing Suffragist papers at the Chancellor. "I had a certain message to give to Mr. Lloyd George," she said, "but they would not let women into the meeting, so I had to give him my message outside in the form of leaflets. The police were very officious, and I had to get at him as best I could by throwing them at his head."

Mr. Alexander Lidiard, charged with obstructing the police on the same occasion, was bound over.

OTHER PRISONERS

Miss Rachel Peace is being forcibly fed three times a day in Holloway Gaol.

Miss Dulcie West, who was re-arrested on October 21, has not yet been released. It is feared that she is being forcibly fed.

Miss Cissie Wilcox, charged on Wednesday at the Whitley Petty Sessions with being found with inflammable materials on the premises of a school, was sentenced to 20s. or a fortnight, and went to prison.

Chapter II

Soaking Does It

Wet the clothes, the coarse and fine separately, and soap with Fels-Naptha. Cold or warm water, not hot.

Roll up each piece, put in tub with water enough to cover and soak half an hour.

In that half-hour the Fels-Naptha is quietly softening, loosening the dirt and stains, from the linen. Better than all the hard rubbing and scrubbing.

Fels-Naptha 39 Wilson street London E.C.

FURTHER INTERCESSION FOR SUFFRAGISTS

Last Sunday prayers were again offered for Suffragists in several churches by members of the congregations. At Westminster Abbey, at the ten o'clock service, during the third Collect, a number of women sang the following words: "God save Mary Richardson and Rachel Peace who are being forcibly fed in prison. Open the eyes of Thy Church that it may turn against this torture." They were immediately requested to leave, which they did in an orderly manner, but at the end of the service some other women prayed for Annie Kenney and Sylvia Pankhurst; they also were asked to leave.

At St. James's, Piccadilly, in the evening, the service was twice marked by the repetition of these two prayers. At St. John's Church, Hampstead, two women unfurled a flag in the gallery; it bore the words, "Oh God, save Thy tortured women, and awaken the consciences of

Thy people." After fixing the flag the women quietly left the church.

AT THE GLOBE THEATRE

On Saturday night Suffragists for a second time visited "People Like Ourselves" at the Globe Theatre, and showered hundreds of forcible feeding leaflets from the gallery on to the audience below.

WILL ITALIAN MEN BE DISFRANCHISED?

According to the papers four men were murdered in connection with the recent Italian General Election. We have been told so often that the mildest forms of militancy—such as asking a question of a Cabinet Minister—should disqualify Englishwomen for the vote that we can only suppose an outcry will now be made in the Press to demand the disfranchisement of the Italian rioters.

Up to the time of going to Press, the outcry had not commenced.

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1x.—Charming Blouse of Crepe Ninon, with smart long shoulder sleeves, pretty Roll Collar of Lace and Satin to tone, and partly lined with dainty Paisley. Can be had in all colours.

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3x.—The newest shape Ivory Cotton Velle Blouse, piped shoulder seams with dainty frilling on cuffs and front. An exceptionally well-cut garment. In all sizes.

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6x.—Choice Blouse of heavy Crepe de Chine, smart long shoulder effect, with Vest, Collar, and Cuffs of dainty Lace edging, and Revers of Crepe de Chine. In a variety of lovely colourings.

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T. J. HARRIES & Co., Ltd., OXFORD ST., W.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

For Manslaughter

The *Morning Post* (October 27) reports case of an Ipswich tradesman, charged before Mr. Justice Bray at the Suffolk Assizes with the manslaughter of a boy through the culpable and negligent driving of a motor-car. He drove into a group, seriously injuring one boy and fracturing the skull of another, who was carried sixty-three feet in the wheels.

Sentence: 2 months' in the second division.

For Cruelty to Horses

The *Pioneer* (October 24) reports case of a carman charged before Mr. Hutton at the Woolwich Police Court with cruelty to a horse by using it when unfit, and of the owner, summoned for causing the horse to be worked with a sore back.

Sentence: The prisoner to a fine of 10s. or 7. days, and the defendant 30s. and 17s. 6d. costs or 14 days.

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE

Jury Object to Judge's Direction

Another instance of acquittal for want of "corroborative" evidence, in a case of indecent assault, occurred at the Northamptonshire County Assizes last week, before Mr. Justice Rowlatt. It was the occasion on which the order for the exclusion of women from the court, which had been given by the superintendent of police, was rescinded by the judge.

The case was that of a shoe operative, aged 47, indicted for offences against a girl under 16 at Kettering. The girl herself was the only witness for the prosecution.

According to the *Northampton Mercury* (October 24), the judge stopped the case when the girl had finished giving her evidence and while the defending counsel was speaking, and said: I don't think we can allow this case to go any further. We must be very careful in cases of this sort. It is no defence that the girl consented, but if she did consent, and it is perfectly clear that she did not tell her mother, one must be careful about her testimony, and here there is no corroborative testimony whatever.

He therefore directed the jury to return a verdict of not guilty.

Jury Dissatisfied

The jury having turned to consult, his Lordship told them they must find a verdict of not guilty on his direction. On him was all the responsibility.

A jurymen: It is no use having a jury then.

His Lordship (sharply): Don't talk nonsense.

The jurymen: With all due respect to you, my lord—

His Lordship: It is not a case of respect to me. It is my duty as judge to tell you, as a matter of law, whether there is proper evidence for the prosecution. If there is not proper evidence it is my duty to advise the jury of the fact, and they can then only acquit. If I am wrong it is on my responsibility.

HEAVY SENTENCES

For Uttering a Cheque

The *Times* (October 15) reports case of a dealer charged before Mr. Justice Rowlatt with forging and uttering a cheque for £60 0s. 8d., also with being an habitual criminal. The third charge, and also that of forgery were withdrawn; he was found guilty of uttering.

Sentence: 5 years' penal servitude.

For Window-Breaking

At the London Sessions, before Mr. Justice Wallace, on October 21, Miss Mary Richardson was charged with breaking windows at the Colonial Office, value £8 8s., as a Suffragist protest.

Sentence: 4 months' imprisonment.

The jury then returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

It is evident from the facts related above that the jury were not so satisfied as the judge appeared to be of the grounds for dismissing the charge, and it is very significant that in the next case that came before the Court, in which a young man of 24 was indicted for offences against a young servant girl at a farm, the defending counsel, Sir Ryland Atkins, objected to the case being heard by the jury that had been engaged in the last case, and a fresh jury was called. The prisoner was found Not Guilty.

Uneasiness in the Minds of Women

We do not allege (not having been present and heard the evidence) that the verdict in either of these cases was necessarily a false or unjust one. But we do allege that the circumstances of both trials, as related in the *Northampton Mercury* and quoted here by us, give rise to the utmost uneasiness in the minds of women as to the way that cases of this particular kind are conducted in the Courts. It will be remembered that in the case of the acquittal of a police constable at the London Sessions on September 11, the Common Sergeant similarly directed the jury to bring in a verdict of Not Guilty in the absence of corroborative evidence of assault upon a girl of 14, and the jury did so, but stated they were "not satisfied."

Where Women are Voters

It is important to remember that in the State of Washington, where women now have the vote, the Legislature recently amended its corroborative evidence law so that the jury, in assault cases, is now free to accept the evidence (without corroboration) of either a boy or girl victim of outrage. Formerly a boy's evidence could be accepted in such cases, but a girl's was not held valid in law.

ASSAULT CASE IN CROATIA

A reader of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in Croatia, Austria-Hungary, sends us the *Agramer Tagblatt* with a report of a case of assault by three boys on a little girl of twelve. Although the boys did not succeed in harming the child, they were each sentenced to two years' hard labour. Perhaps nowhere else than in this country are the penalties dealing with assault on women and children so light, or convictions so hard to secure.

CORRESPONDENCE

"CHURCH AND STATE"

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—Your leading article in the issue of October 24 has worried me. No doubt this is my own fault, and I have probably read into it what you did not mean, but it seems to me that you consider that for the Church "to arouse and organise the conscience of the nation" is "leaving the political warfare to be accomplished by others." Is this quite the fact? Does not the great value of the work of the various sectarian Suffrage Societies consist in emphasising unflinchingly—as they are doing—that to-day the religion of each one of us results in our political activity? To many of us our religion is our politics because our politics is our conscience. That the meaning of the words has been narrowed until religion means sentiment or dogma, and politics party politics, does not alter the truth.

Will not the "Bishop of Kensington and the thousands of men and women who eschew politics" be led by their interest in this Cause of Women to "take their opinions to the ballot-box" and realise in doing so that their action is as religious as their public and private devotions?

Women are demanding the vote because their religion is incomplete without it. "Love is the fulfilling of the law," and they know they are not "loving their neighbour" while they are unable to bring about such legislation as will prove their

love. They wish, by righteous legislation, to feed, clothe, and comfort the oppressed. When the nation realises the righteousness of politics, when good men and good women are truly politicians, then we shall not talk of "Church and State," for the whole State will have become a Church—a Heaven on earth. In the New Jerusalem we read, "I saw no Temple therein"; one was not needed, the whole city was a Temple.—Yours, &c., E. E. APPLETON.

Sec., C.L.W.S., Bootle.

[If our correspondent will look again carefully at that part of the Bishop of Kensington's speech which stands immediately under the headline "Not wholly Political" and will also re-read the leading article, "Church and State," and will note the context in relation to the sentence which he quotes, he will see that the phrase "political warfare" signifies in this particular instance political militancy, or political rebellion, and not the constitutional exercise of the political vote. To "fight" the Government figuratively in the name of conscience on the political field by means of the ballot-box is one thing, while to defy the authority of the realm by passive or by active resistance to the law is another. Our point was that both the constitutional and moral forces and the forces of rebellion had operated together in similar movements in the past, and both forces were needed to-day. Nothing in the speech of the Bishop of Kensington, or in the article "Church and State," controverts the claim of our correspondent, which we heartily endorse, that all men who have the vote are in duty

bound to express their convictions upon the question of "votes for women" through the ballot-box, and that the value of all the various Suffrage Societies is ultimately to be tested by their influence on the result of elections. In fact, we are convinced that nothing is more needed at the present moment than a great revival of directly political work carried on in every Parliamentary constituency throughout the whole country.—Ed. *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.]

THE BISHOP OF KENSINGTON'S SPEECH

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—With a great deal of the Bishop of Kensington's speech I am in sympathy, though I don't go all the way with him or you. There is, however, one point which I challenge.

The protest against the leniency of the sentence on Queenie Gerald is justified, but I suggest that the grievance about the non-prosecution, or the non-publication of the names, of the men mentioned in her books should be dropped. To what purpose would it be to prosecute without evidence, or are we in cases of this sort to dispense with evidence and punish on accusation and allegation alone? What a paradise for the blackmailer!

And who is to publish the names, and where? Is it to be done in the privileged House of Commons, and would that be fair? If the Bishop knew them would he dare to publish them? I don't mean that he might fear proceedings for libel. He would doubtless—for I know him well—risk that danger if he thought his duty called on him to do it. But again, would it be fair to the men? Queenie Gerald is quite clever enough to protect herself by ensuring that all sorts of prominent men's names should be found upon her premises. The finding of a name there is no sort of evidence—legal or inferential—against the bearer of that name. It might be a ground for the police to watch the proceedings of that man, but no more than that.

I have discussed the matter with a convinced and active Suffragist, who agrees

with me that the point is a bad one. Yours, &c.,

ARTHUR T. PORKINS.

Moortown, Leeds, October 28, 1913.

[It was impossible for the Bishop of Kensington to tell the whole story in his speech of the Queenie Gerald case. It is probable that our correspondent is not aware of the facts. The first statement of the solicitor in the prosecution, Mr. Travers Humphreys, as reported in the *Times*, was that when the flat was raided "a number of letters was seized which made it quite clear that, apart from prisoner's earnings, and apart from the three girls, she had been carrying on the trade of a procuress. There was a copy of a letter, which the woman herself had written, which made it abundantly clear that she was guilty of procuration." Mr. Keir Hardie presented a sworn statement in Parliament from one who had been empanelled as one of the jury which describes the way in which the counsel for the prosecution and for the defence co-operated with the judge in the suppression of all names and addresses that were in the hands of the police. Mr. Keir Hardie has published a full exposure of the case in the form of a pamphlet, which can be had for one penny.—Ed. *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.]

NOT NICE—BUT TRUE

The "Daily Herald's" Way of Putting it

On Saturday, November 15, Mr. Winston Churchill, that great democratic leader—who hopes to become still greater—will address his friends at the Alexandra Palace. We say "friends" advisedly; for such is the unpopular nature of democratic leadership that no women can be admitted into this meeting; and only a picked lot of men, who are guaranteed to swallow anything that is ladled down with the Liberal spoon. The usual Liberal rule at present is: "Men only." The time is soon coming when it will be necessary to modify this to "Sheep only." It won't sound nice—but it will be true.

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French Flannel Dressing Gowns in all the leading colourings, trimmed Velvet Embroidery, 12/9. Zenana Dressing Gowns, in all different colourings, 39/6.

500 only Pap. Silk Quilted Gowns, "Coat" Sleeves, with Girdle, 12/9. Jackets to match 7/9.

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In Horrockses' Wincey, trimmed Lace with square neck and turn-down Collar, 6/6. (Out size 7/9).

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Medium weight, wool Combinations, unshrinkable, low necks, short sleeves. All sizes, 5/11. High neck, long sleeves, 6/6.

LADIES' HOSE.

Black Cashmere Hose, broad ribs, exceptional value, 1/9 pair. Black Cashmere Hose, shot White, Blue, Cardinal and Green, 1/6 pair.

WOVEN NIGHTDRESSES.

White, turn-down embroidered Collar, medium size, 6/9.

Ditto, with turn-down Collar, smocked Cuffs, trimmed Torchon Lace. Medium and outside, 5/11.

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White unshrinkable Wool, medium weight. Sizes 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. 4/9. 4/11. 5/3.

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NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

Miss Lena Ashwell and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck were the speakers at our "At Home" on Tuesday. Miss Jean Forsyth took the chair.

Commenting on the appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs to the post of Lord Chief Justice, Miss Ashwell said it seemed strange that a man who had so recently been connected with a very grave scandal should be promoted to a position which necessitated in its holder an absolute equity of mind and a perfectly balanced judgment. If the Government held the view that Sir Rufus Isaacs had had no desire to be unfair towards the country in using the knowledge he had acquired, what about people who had no money and no power? If the Government was going to take intention into account, it should reconsider its attitude towards Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Pankhurst, and the other militant women. It was intolerable that there should be one standard for men and another for women.

Reading By-Election.—The N.C.S. is conducting a vigorous campaign against the Government. Magnificent meetings are being held, and great sympathy is shown for the cause. So far the speakers have met with practically no opposition.

Wantage Campaign.—A series of meetings are being arranged in Wantage. Miss Frye, organiser in charge, would be very grateful for help. We appeal particularly to Suffragist residents in Berkshire, who also believe in our anti-Government policy, to write to Miss Frye at "Redlands," Ormand Road, Wantage.

Concert.—As readers of this column are aware, a concert in aid of the funds of the Society has been arranged for November 21. Very distinguished artists have promised their services, and purchasers of tickets will not only have the satisfaction of helping the cause, but of getting full value for their money in the great musical treat that is being provided.

FUTURE MEETINGS AND EVENTS

Sunday, November 2.—Hyde Park, noon. Mrs. Merivale Mayer.

Tuesday, November 4.—143A, Park Mansions Arcade, 3 p.m. Miss Margaret Douglas, "Fraudulent Social Reform"; Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, "From an Eastern Woman's Standpoint."

BAZAAR. Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. Countess Brassey, December 2. Miss Lena Ashwell, December 3.

THE STIGMA OF BEING NON-VOTERS

The Church League for Women's Suffrage, hearing that no women were to be allowed to take part in next Saturday's procession at Manchester in protest against the Welsh Church Bill, demanded an explanation and received one from the honorary secretary of the Manchester Diocesan Society for Church Defence.

In the course of this reply it is stated that "My Committee do not desire that many women should walk, but this is because it is desirable that the procession should move expeditiously, and because it is also desirable that the procession should escape the stigma of being largely composed of non-voters."

The italics are ours. It is not often that the inferior status of the voteless woman is thus frankly stated, and we hope that the above passage will open the eyes of those Churchwomen who are not yet Suffragists.

THE REGISTRATION OF NURSES Status Lost in England

In an interesting interview with Miss A. H. Holford, matron of St. Helen's Maternity Hospital at Dunedin, New Zealand, a recent issue of the *Nursing Times* emphasises the loss of status that is suffered by a nurse or midwife who comes to England from that country. For in New Zealand—where, as the *Nursing Times* reminds Miss Holford, "women are citizens who help to make the laws controlling their lives"—both nurses and midwives are registered, and consequently lose their status on coming to Great Britain, where this reform still lags behind, in common with others that have only women without votes at the back of them.

"Imagine," says Miss Holford, "if our first-rate medical men on their visits home were divested of all professional status at London Docks, and degraded to the position of quacks! That is practically how the registered nurses and midwives of New Zealand are treated by the Home Government."

And so they will be treated till the Home Government has the sense to follow the example of its enterprising offspring beyond the seas, and to enfranchise its women.

COMING EVENTS

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30-6.15 p.m. Speakers: Miss Rosamond Smith and others.

The *Daily Herald* League will hold a demonstration at the Albert Hall to-morrow (Saturday), at 8 p.m., in aid of the Dublin Strike Fund. Chair: Mr. George Lansbury. Tickets: *Daily Herald* League, 21, Tudor Street, E.C.

The Jewish League announce a meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on November 3, at 8.30 p.m. Speaker: Lyon Bleas, Esq. Chair: Herbert Jacobs, Esq.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a public meeting at the Caxton Hall on November 3, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Hylton Dale, Mr. C. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., and Miss Margarita Jones.

There will be a Votes for Women Fellowship meeting at the Institute, Hampstead Garden Suburb, on November 4, at 8.15 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. Greenhalgh, and the Rev. Rushbrooke. Tickets: 1s. and 6d., free seats.

A dramatic version of Longfellow's "Hiawatha" will be given by the Women's Freedom League on November 4, at 3 p.m. and at 8 p.m., in the Cripplegate Institute, Golden Lane, E.C.

At the Suffrage Club, on November 4, at 3.30 p.m., the National Political League will hold a meeting. Speaker: Miss Margaret Milne Farquharson, M.A. Chair: Miss M. A. Broadhurst, M.A.

At the International Women's Franchise Club, on November 5, at 8.30 p.m., there will be a discussion on "The Cure of Poverty." Speakers: Miss Mabel Atkinson and Dr. C. V. Drysdale.

The United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies will hold a public meeting at the Caxton Hall, on November 6, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Abadam, Rev. C. Hinchcliff, Lady Frances Balfour, and others.

The Actresses' Franchise League will hold a meeting and reception at the Shaftesbury Theatre on November 18, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Professor Bickerton, Rev. L. Donaldson, Mr. Roy Horniman, Mr. Zangwill, and others. Tickets: A.F.L.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

NATIONAL WEEK OF PRAYER.—Church League Service, Wednesday, November 5, 3.30 p.m., St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, E.C. Preacher, the Rector, Rev. Canon J. H. B. Masterman.

ST. ANNE'S, SOHO.—Preachers and Music for Sunday next: 11 a.m., Te Deum and Jubilate, Wesley in F; Anthem, "If We Believe" (Goss); Communion Service, Wesley in E; Preacher, Rev. C. E. Grenside. 7 p.m., Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Attwood in C; Anthem, "We are Ambassadors" (Mendelssohn); Organ Voluntary, Prelude and Figure, C. ma. (Bach); Preacher, Rev. Dr. W. S. Macgowan.

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, Bayswater.—Next Sunday at 11, Dr. Stanton Coit, "The Inside of the Cup." Membership Lunch at 1.30. Evening at 7, Dr. Stanton Coit, "What is Beyond Good and Evil."

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C. (WEST LONDON MISSION).—Sunday, Nov. 2. Preacher (11 a.m. and 7 p.m.), Rev. J. E. Rattenbury; Morning Subject, "THE TWELVE APOSTLES" (7 John); Evening, Mr. Rattenbury commences a series of sermons on "IS JESUS GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE TWENTIETH CENTURY?" No. 1, "The Claims of Jesus on the Modern World." 6.30 to 7 p.m., Musical Service; Soloist, Miss Rose Molyneux; Organ, Mr. FRANK IDLE, A.R.A.M. 3.30. Fellowship; Speaker, Thomas Dutton, Esq., M.D., M.B., F.R.C.P.; Subject, "The Crime of Food Faking."

NEW THOUGHT CHURCH.—11.15, at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street. Speaker: Miss Muriel Brown. 7.15, at 78, Edgware Road, Mr. John Clennell.

PREF. CARLILE'S CHURCH ARMY CHURCH with Lantern, Band, and Orchestra. Concert at 6; Service, 7.—St. Mary-at-Hill, Monument.

WESTBOURNE PARK CHAPEL (opposite to Royal Oak Station), Porchester Road, W.—Dr. C. H. Watkins, M.A., at 11; Dr. J. Clifford, M.A., at 7.

PRODUCTION OF "HIAWATHA"

The dramatic version of "Hiawatha" by K. Harvey, will be given by the same company who gave the dramatic performances at the International Suffrage Fair in November, 1912. A special feature will be the dresses, which are all of the period and very beautiful, while the moving tableaux to illustrate the connecting scenes are to be very striking. An interesting characteristic of the music is that it will be hummed to a drum accompaniment only.

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- Artists' Suffrage League,**
259, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association,**
Co. International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,**
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage,**
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society,**
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,**
48, Dover Street, W.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,**
14, St. James' Street, S.W.
- Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,**
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free-Church League for Women's Suffrage,**
2, Holmby View, Upper Clapton.
- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,**
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,**
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Shop,**
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance,**
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club,**
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irish League for Women's Suffrage**
The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League,**
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League,**
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,**
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,**
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,**
27, Donegal Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Women's Suffrage,**
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice,**
22, South Molton Street, W.
- London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,**
Chester Gate, Ealing.
- Marchers' Quia Viva Corps,**
Dunton, Petworth, Sussex.

- Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,**
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
- Men's League for Woman Suffrage,**
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,**
15, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights,**
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
- Munster Women's Franchise League,**
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,**
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League,**
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,**
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,**
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,**
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- People's Suffrage Federation,**
51-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tottenham St., S.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,**
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,**
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
- Spiritual Militancy League,**
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier,**
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club,**
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,**
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies,**
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- Votes for Women Fellowship,**
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,**
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League,**
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,**
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
- Women's Social and Political Union,**
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League,**
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union,**
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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, October 31. Miss Rosamond Smith, Mrs. Heitland, Dr. Florence Willey, Mr. Cholmeley.

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION.—Protest Meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Monday, November 3, 8 p.m. (during Suffrage Week of Prayer). Speakers: C. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., on "Forcible Feeding," Mrs. Hylton Dale, Miss Jones, Chair, Mrs. Davies. All seats free. Special collection for Senghenydd widows and orphans. Do Come and Support us.

JEWISH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Lecture at Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, November 3, at 8.30. Lyon Bleasie Esq.; chair, Herbert Jacobs, Esq. "The History of the Woman's Movement." Tickets, Miss Mildred Marsden, 82, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds regular Public Meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, NOVEMBER 5, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson on "The Child in Hungary," and Miss Nina Boyle. The Chair will be taken at 3.30. Admission free.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, W.—Wednesday, November 5, at 8.30 p.m. Discussion, "The Care of Poverty," Miss Mabel Atkinson, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, D.Sc., M.I.E.E. Chair, Rev. Dr. Joseph Hochman.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.—Lecture, "The Worship of Athens" (with lantern illustrations from Greek sculpture and vase-painting), by Miss Katherine Raleigh, at Caxton Hall, Monday, November 10. Chair, Mrs. Marie C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.L.S., &c., at 5.15 p.m. Tickets, 2s. and 1s.

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- 8.—To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes, including the upkeep of the paper.
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To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

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